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by

N. A. TIKHONOV



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About the author

NIKOLAI TIKHONOV is a prominent Soviet Communist Party leader and statesman, the Premier of one of the world's great powers.

For over twenty years he has been a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and is a member of the Communist Party's top policy-making body—the Central Committee and its Political Bureau.

Premier Tikhonov began his record of work as assistant engine driver and has since risen to his high rank thanks to his remarkable talent as organiser, his superior competence in economics, his extraordinary single-mindedness, hard work and utter dedication to the cause of the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

His articles, speeches and reports in this edition portray him as a wise political leader, a skilful economic manager, an expert authority on metallurgy and other key industries, as well as on economic management on a nationwide scale.

His impressive record of research and practical solutions to problems facing Soviet metallurgy has won him the degree of Doctor of Technology. He has been awarded State Prizes for his part in implementing government assignments of top priority.

Premier Tikhonov bears the honorary title of Hero of Socialist Labour, the supreme mark of distinction in the USSR. Among his decorations are seven Orders of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, two Orders of the Red Banner of Labour, the Red Star and many medals, as well as awards of foreign nations.

At the ceremony of presentation of a high government decoration to Nikolai Tikhonov in the Kremlin in May 1980 President Brezhnev described him as a leading organiser of industry with a keen sense of responsibility, who is capable of selecting unerringly what matters most from a mass of details, and is known for his bold solutions to challenging problems of economic development.

Premier Tikhonov is well known to the Western business community. On his initiative and with his direct involvement decisions

were taken on major projects of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and Western nations.

Anyone who has ever met Premier Tikhonov admires his sharp intelligence and brilliant memory, his thorough knowledge of whatever matter is under discussion, his prompt and resolute concentration on the main point and his tenacity in holding his ground.

The Publisher hopes that readers will take an interest in this book and appreciate Premier Tikhonov's efforts towards greater trust and mutual understanding among nations.

Preface

THIS Pergamon Press edition presents the articles, speeches, and reports that I have made on various occasions during a period of more than thirty years service.

It was an eventful period in Soviet history marked by crucially important developments and deep-going changes.

The Soviet people's national war against Nazi Germany, which has come to be known in my country as the Great Patriotic War, had just come to an end. My fellow countrymen and women had displayed staunchness and courage in enduring severe trials, hardship and privation without precedent in human history and forged the weapons of victory with which they broke the backbone of mankind's worst enemy.

It was the period of rebuilding the Soviet economy ravaged by the Nazis and of steady economic growth for the benefit of the people, for sustained improvement of the standards of living and the quality of life. The spectacular achievements of the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party in building a communist society, have found a vivid expression in the Constitution of the USSR, which is a veritable manifesto of developed socialism.

That period witnessed the tireless and constructive efforts made by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government to preserve peace on earth, to bring about *détente*, and to promote relations of friendship and cooperation among all nations.

Naturally, all those historic events affected the lives of millions of people, as well as of every individual. I am proud to have lived in that heroic time and to have shared in the splendid accomplishments of the Soviet people and our Leninist Party, of which I have been a member since 1940.

Of course, the matter collected in this edition bears the imprint of that time as a reflection of my outlook on the main trends of develop-

ment that were in evidence in my country. For this reason, as I hope, this book may be of interest to my foreign readers.

My life story in outline is as follows. I was born in Kharkov, a city in the Ukraine. My father, Alexander Alexandrovich,¹ was an engineer, who had been educated at the Kharkov Institute of Technology, and was known for his progressive views. During the last few years of his life he served as assistant section chief at the railway station of Zhmerinka. My mother, Nadezhda Andreyevna,¹ held the job of a book-keeper at the former Yekaterininskaya Railway.

I took my first job—not without the influence of the family tradition—on the railway, where I served as an assistant engine driver after my graduation from the Yekaterinoslav Railway School in 1924.

That was a hard time by any standard. The young Soviet Republic, overcoming its economic dislocation, the hardships of its economic blockade, and the resistance of counter-revolutionary forces, was beginning to implement Lenin's plans of building a new society.

I entered upon my working life at an historic moment when socialist construction was getting under way: the foundations for Soviet industrial might were being laid, the life of millions of peasants was being remade on collectivist principles, and a cultural revolution was in progress.

The unforgettable early Five-Year Plans were the first steps in my country's steady ascent to the summits of economic, social, and cultural progress.

In the thirties the country was a busy scene of building work on a national scale: new towns were springing up, mammoth steel, motor and tractor works, power dams, railways, and irrigation canals were under construction.

The country needed a large body of competent managers, engineers, and technicians. A wide programme of training 'captains of socialist industry' was launched on the Party's initiative.

In 1926, on a recommendation of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, I entered the Dnepropetrovsk Mining Institute, known for its fine scientific and engineering traditions. I graduated in 1930 and took a job at the Lenin Plant of Dnepropetrovsk. There, within its

labour collective, I progressed from engineer of the thin-walled tube department to the plant's Chief Engineer. In 1939 I was awarded the Order of Lenin for my part in fulfilling a top priority government assignment. This Order, which is the supreme government decoration in my country, is especially dear to me, as it was my first award. In 1943 I was awarded the State Prize for my contributions to successful new defence production.

When the Great Patriotic War began I still served as the plant's Chief Engineer.

Scenes of the people's great exploits are still alive in my memory.

When the Nazi Wehrmacht invaded the Dnieper area, the evacuation of industry was started and equipment and valuable materials were shipped to safety in the hinterland. I was one of those responsible for the evacuation of our plant. Defying enemy air strikes, we slowly moved towards the Urals hundreds of miles away. My wife Praskovia Dmitriyevna¹ was by my side, braving all the dangers and privations of that disastrous period.

Our train arrived at the town of Pervouralsk, where I was Chief Engineer of the Novotrubny Tube Plant.

We had to shoulder a task of enormous importance and complexity. At that time it was the country's only plant supplying tubes for making mortar barrels and other combat equipment. Immediately upon arrival we had to take steps to increase the output of a variety of tubes, to organise production of tube types the plant had never manufactured before. Each day and each work shift were like a battle in the firing lines. The plant's collective was making truly titanic efforts. The defence orders posed more and more new production and technical problems. However formidable their difficulties might be, the plant's personnel invariably met the deadlines set for orders from the State Defence Committee. Just as the nation as a whole, we drew inspiration from our common battle cry: "Everything for the Army, everything for victory!"

In 1947 I returned to the Dnepropetrovsk region to serve as manager of the Yuzhn trubny Tube Plant in the city of Nikopol. The

¹ The second name is a Russian patronymic. *Translator.*

¹ Patronymic. *Translator.*

latter had shared the lot of all other cities ravaged by war. The Nazis had perpetrated many atrocities against innocent civilians here, and fierce fighting had left much of the city in ruins. In fact, the whole territory on which the Nazis had unleashed their reign of terror presented a similar sight. Over twenty million Soviet citizens had laid down their lives, fighting the enemy in the front lines and in guerrilla warfare. Many were murdered in Nazi dungeons. A total of 1710 towns and townships and over 70,000 large and small villages had been raised to the ground. The invaders had blown up thousands of factories and plants, mines and power stations. The country had lost about 30 per cent of her national wealth created by the selfless work of the people. Twenty-five million people had been made homeless. These statistics are well known. They are well cited in the press and in books. Behind them are blood and tears, unheard-of suffering, misfortune, and privation. An eyewitness of all these will never forget what terrible disasters are spelled by war, the destruction and tragedy it leaves in its wake for millions of people.

It seemed it would take many years to erase the terrible scars of the war. Thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party and the people, however, the task of economic rehabilitation was accomplished within a record time.

The Soviet people had performed a breath-taking labour exploit, which President Brezhnev has described in such vivid and impressive detail in his remarkable book *Rebirth*, well known to Soviet and foreign readers.

Even today, when the scope of production and construction has grown to enormous proportions, one is amazed by the sweeping scale of restoration which was going on at that time, the incredible speed with which production was resumed by factories and plants that had but recently been a waste of debris. One cannot but admire the selflessness and enthusiasm of the people who were rebuilding industry, towns, and villages.

A life of peace was coming into its own everywhere. My memory takes me back to many events that revealed the grandeur of day-to-day labour at that time. The story behind the rebirth of the Nikopol Tube Plant is one of the unforgettable pages from the history of the life and work of thousands of men and women workers, young and

old alike. The Party's Central Committee and the Government faced the plant's Communists and its entire work force with the all-important task of rebuilding the plant in a record time, of increasing its output, and, as its first priority, the putting into service of a large tube-rolling mill at full capacity. That was a tremendous task, which was complicated by manpower shortage.

The problem of manpower supply at the plant and elsewhere in the country was truly formidable at the time. Many of the workers were sick or afflicted with dystrophy and unable to report for duty. The war years had left a sorry aftermath. What was to be done to support the workers and to encourage them to stay at their jobs? As plant manager I had to devote a lot of time to urgent problems of critical importance for labour maintenance—those of providing food and housing for the workers.

A prophylactic centre for the workers was established under the plant's auspices. Although food rationing had not yet been abolished in the country, the centre provided a fairly nourishing diet, free of charge. Even a short two weeks' accommodation at the centre and good nourishment brought patients literally back to life and made them capable of working again.

I remember well what Leonid Brezhnev, who was First Secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Party Committee at the time, said about concern for improving the conditions of life and work of the workers as a matter of first priority. "Whenever we show solicitude for the working man, he invariably responds to it. Then production goes ahead at a brisker pace, and people work with more enthusiasm and efficiency", he said. I have more than once sensed his timely support in matters of housing construction, improving working and living conditions—in short, in everything related to the life and work of the working class.

I want to emphasise specifically the fact that the restoration of every large industrial enterprise was a matter of concern to the whole country. We at Nikopol were assisted by the workers of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, the cities of the Urals and other parts of the country. The day-to-day work of post-war reconstruction brought into salient relief the noble character of Soviet citizens, the fraternal friendship of the peoples of my multinational country.

The events of those days steadily recede farther and farther into the mist of history, but the labour exploits the Party and the people performed in the postwar years will never be forgotten. They will live on forever in the memory of our grateful descendants, the great accomplishments of the Soviet people building a communist society.

Years later the Party and Government assigned me to work in other areas of management of the economy, yet to this day I am linked by many ties with the people of Nikopol. I am a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet elected to this top legislative body by the working people of the Nikopol electoral district.

For many years my practical work was connected with one of the main branches of ferrous metallurgy: the manufacture of steel tubes. The Soviet tube-rolling industry came into being during the first two Five-Year Plans, when the production of steel tubes was increased more than five-fold. Already at that time we managed not only to modernise old tube plants but also to build new ones, to advance considerably the efficiency of equipment, to work out and introduce modern manufacturing processes.

As an engineer I took an interest at that time in the problem of increasing the productivity of drawing mills used to manufacture cold-rolled steel tubes.

This problem was precisely the subject of my research for which I was awarded the academic degree of Doctor of Technology. It was proved theoretically and practically that the productivity of mills could be raised considerably by improving manufacturing processes. It should be said that at that time this was a rather bold and radical solution to the problem, since the tube manufacturing process was long established, and no deviation from the canons laid down in scientific books and articles was allowed. Scientific argumentation in support of a new and advanced process and its practical application made it possible to achieve a considerable increment in tube production.

Today, the Soviet tube-rolling industry manufactures 140 per cent more steel tubes than the United States, 270 per cent more than Federal Germany, and 800 per cent more than France.

The problems of advancing the soviet iron-and-steel industry were in my line of duty for a long period thereafter, when I was chief of a

central department at the USSR Ministry of the Iron-and-Steel Industry, and also in the period from 1957 to 1960 when I returned to the Dnepropetrovsk region to serve as Chairman of the Dnepropetrovsk Economic Council.

In 1960 I returned to Moscow to serve consecutively as Vice Chairman of the State Scientific and Economic Council at the USSR Council of Ministers and Vice-Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, and from 1965 as Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Although the range of my immediate duties widened considerably, since I had to deal with the problems of advancing chemistry and geology, I continued to devote much attention to metallurgy. It is not accidental, therefore, that many articles in this collection discuss precisely the problems involved in developing this major sector of the national economy.

In the mid-sixties, on the initiative of Leonid Brezhnev elected in October 1964 First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and later, at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Party launched a programme of restructuring management of the national economy. By that time enormous quantitative and qualitative changes had taken place in the economy. The scale of production had grown many times over, and the economic interrelationships had become more complex. In industry alone, tens of thousands of enterprises were in operation, manufacturing millions of various product items.

The country had built up a powerful scientific potential. The qualification standards of personnel had risen immeasurably. In 1965 the number of specialists with higher education employed in the national economy was almost 240 per cent larger than in 1950. In that situation the Party and Government set a course for advancing production efficiency, accelerating scientific and technological progress, and securing a speedy application of scientific and technological achievements in practice.

An economic reform was worked out and implemented on the basis of a profound analysis of the new conditions of economic development. In a nutshell, its purpose was to reinforce the economic methods of production management, to widen the powers of the management of enterprises, to bring the entire system of management into

line with the increased demands of the modern stage of economic development. Effective measures were taken to enhance the responsibility of labour collectives and each of their members, as well as their material interest in better performance results. Union and Union-Republic Ministries were instituted to improve direction of individual industries and step up the rates of scientific and technological progress.

The measures implemented in the mid-sixties made it possible to accelerate the economic and social progress of Soviet society. As a result, towards the early seventies the Soviet Union had advanced to a qualitatively new developmental stage—one of mature socialism. It became feasible to bring into play more fully than ever before the advantages and potentialities of the socialist system, the forms and methods of management inherent in it, and the most up-to-date achievements of science and technology.

The increased possibilities of developed socialist society allowed a novel approach to the long-term strategy of national economic development. The task of advancing steadily the material and cultural standards of life of the Soviet people was given top priority in all economic activity. Accordingly, large-scale measures were undertaken to secure well-balanced and harmonious development of the national economy, to step up the rates of advance of those sectors of social production which have a direct bearing on the improvement of the well-being of the people. This Party policy was expressed in the assignments of the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans.

The new approach to the solution of economic and social problems, the economic strategy formulated by the Party, were unanimously supported by the Soviet people. Experience has since fully borne out the wisdom of the political line mapped out at the 23rd, 24th, and 25th Congresses of the CPSU.

The Soviet people have achieved spectacular progress in all directions of communist construction. Taking a look at the last three Five-Year Plans, we shall see that the national income used for accumulation and consumption has increased 120 per cent over the period. Industrial output has grown 170 per cent. The productivity of social labour has doubled.

The material and cultural standards of life of the people are steadily rising on the basis of successful economic advance and the growth of labour efficiency. The following figures illustrate the growth rates of the standards of living in the USSR: the average monthly earnings of the working people together with payments and other benefits derived from the social consumption funds have grown 80 per cent, which is a 470 per cent increase since 1940.

Housing construction has assumed enormous scope. An average of about 6000 flats are built daily, which amounts to over 100 million m² of floor space annually. During the last three Five-Year Plans almost 1600 million m² of housing has been built. More than 160 million residents have improved their housing conditions.

The educational standards of Soviet citizens are advancing rapidly. For instance, the Soviet Union has more graduate engineers employed in the national economy than the United States.

Soviet science has made brilliant progress. The name of Yuri Gagarin, the world's first spaceman, is a symbol of the great achievements and the inexhaustible creative potential of the socialist system.

The remarkable accomplishments of the Party and people were recently summed up by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. The Congress opened up new prospects for communist construction. Having made a realistic assessment of the record of achievements, the Congress pointed out the practical ways of eliminating the shortcomings in social production, of switching the Soviet national economy to the path of intensified development. Western economists often refer to this process as 'a second industrialisation of the USSR'. This metaphor seems appropriate. The reconstruction of the Soviet economy on the most up-to-date scientific and technological basis and its intensification will certainly have important implications, not only economic but also social.

The 26th Congress approved the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981–1985 and for the period up to 1999. All decisions of the Congress provide new conclusive evidence to the effect that the CPSU and the Soviet State have no greater concern than that for the welfare and happy life of the working people and the preservation of peace.

As the reader will see, in this edition a good deal of space is given to articles and speeches dealing with questions of Soviet foreign policy, mostly those of Soviet economic relations with members of the socialist community of nations, the developing countries, and a number of countries of the capitalist world.

This reflects the growing importance of Soviet foreign policy for finding a solution to the cardinal problems of today, for the maintenance of peace. Within the framework of this policy, economic relations among nations serve the cause of peace and lend stability to political relations.

I have met many representatives of the Western business community and become firmly convinced that goodneighbourly political relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence actively contribute to the development of fruitful, mutually beneficial economic relations between states belonging to different social systems. And conversely, stable economic relations are an important prerequisite for lasting peace.

This understanding of the feedback connection between economic and political problems is a characteristic aspect of Soviet foreign policy. The fundamental principles of this policy were formulated by Lenin shortly after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have abided by these principles in their activities for over six decades.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU has reaffirmed that the Soviet Union is, as before, in favour of stable and mutually beneficial relations with all countries. We welcome an expansion of these ties with the capitalist countries on the basis of strict compliance with reciprocal commitments. We appreciate the constructive approach to problems of international economic co-operation on the part of many capitalist states and business circles and will develop our economic relations primarily with these states.

The experience of recent years has again proved conclusively that any attempt to exploit foreign commerce or other relations to bring political pressure to bear upon the Soviet Union is doomed to failure.

Mankind, the peoples and governments of the world are now faced with many problems. The central task, however, is to promote the cause of *détente*, to safeguard and preserve peace, and to avert

nuclear catastrophe. The new Soviet initiatives put forward by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of Soviet Communists serve precisely the purpose of establishing universal peace.

I deem it my duty to reiterate that the aspirations and will of the Soviet people, their Party and Government are directed towards construction, not destruction, towards peace, not war, which would be fatal to world civilisation.

The policy pursued by the Soviet Union towards broad development of international co-operation is as immutable as ever, because it is its policy of principle designed to preserve peace, to promote *détente* and mutual understanding between nations.

It is difficult, of course, to reveal in a short preface the contents of a book covering a period of more than thirty years. The reader will see for himself what was the object of my attention. As for myself, I shall be greatly satisfied if this book helps the reader understand the guidelines of the economic and social policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the life of Soviet society.

I shall be gratified if this book gives British readers another insight into the atmosphere of peaceful construction in which the Soviet people live and work.

In conclusion, I want to emphasise the following: as a statesman and a citizen I have always deemed it my duty to give all my knowledge and experience to the great cause of social justice, construction, and peace. These life values agree with the interests of all Soviet citizens, the cause of strengthening friendship and co-operation among nations. Nothing can be loftier and nobler than service of these great goals and sacred ideals.

NIKOLAI TIKHONOV

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Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981–1985 and for the period ending 1990

Report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 27th February 1981

Comrade delegates,

The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is meeting in an atmosphere of creativity, efficiency, and unity. The delegates to the Congress, the Party, and the entire Soviet people have welcomed the Central Committee's Report delivered by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as a document of immense historic significance.

It was with unique profundity of thought that Comrade Brezhnev analysed the many-sided activities of the Central Committee, the titanic efforts being made by the Party and people to strengthen the country's economic power and security, to improve the life of the Soviet people, to safeguard and consolidate peace.

The Report is an outstanding creative contribution to the development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory, to the scientific substantiation of the general line being pursued by the Party in the period of developed socialism. It vividly portrays the lofty aims and noble ideals to which the Communist Party, founded by Lenin, has committed itself.

The Report embodies the Party's wisdom and high sense of responsibility for the country's destiny, the common will of more than 17 million Communists and all Soviet people. Approved by the Con-

gress unanimously as a guide to action, it is mobilising the Party and people to the fulfilment of new tasks and is opening up inspiring prospects for communist construction.

The Party's home and foreign policies have stood the test of time, and their correctness has been borne out by history. We have every reason to say that they represent the Leninist line, the only correct line to follow.

Comrade Brezhnev plays an outstanding part in planning and implementing these policies. The Party and people regard him as a wise and tried leader, who is confidently guiding our mighty country's advance towards communism.

Every new Five-Year Plan confronts us with ever greater and more complicated tasks. Evidence of this is the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending 1990 submitted to this Congress by the Party's Central Committee.

The draft has been drawn up on the basis of the decisions of the 24th and 25th Congresses and of plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Guidelines sum up the practices of communist construction in the USSR, take account of the experience of other socialist countries, review the results of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, define the targets for economic and social development in the next five years and in the period up to 1990, and outline a system of measures for their attainment.

The draft is permeated with concern for the well-being of the Soviet people, for the continued prosperity and consolidation of the power of this socialist country. This purpose is served by the development of material production, the advancement of its efficiency, the progress in science and technology, the extension of foreign economic relations, and the enhancement of the standards of management of the national economy.

The enthusiastic and businesslike discussion of the draft in the press, within work collectives, at Party meetings and conferences, and at congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, have strikingly demonstrated the vitality of socialist democracy and the unbreakable unity of the Party and people.

Valuable suggestions, additions and amendments enriching this important document have been made in the course of this nationwide discussion.

The draft Guidelines have evoked much comment abroad. Our friends see it as more convincing evidence of the triumph of the ideals and practices of socialism in being. They share with us the joy of our labour achievements and sincerely wish the Soviet people new successes.

Significantly, many realistic-minded members of Western political and business quarters note the peaceful tenor of our plans, the invariable striving of the Party and the Soviet people for lasting peace on earth.

As regards the attacks on the socialist economic system, the slanderous inventions of our ill-wishers about the alleged 'crisis' of the Soviet economy, they are disproved by the realities of life.

In contrast to capitalist society with its acute social antagonisms, unemployment and inflation, crises and recessions, and the escalating arms race, socialism implies society's socio-political and ideological unity, concern for the working people's well-being, the advantages of the socialist economic system, a planned economy, and a policy of opposition to the arms race.

In this confrontation of two worlds—the socialist and the capitalist—socialism has the advantage of stable economic growth, steadily rising living and cultural standards of the people, the perfect logic of Marxist-Leninist ideas, social justice, lofty humanism, genuine democracy, and the socialist way of life, whose motto is: "Everything is the name of man, for the benefit of man! The future belongs to socialism!"

I. ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND THE GROWTH OF THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING IN THE TENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

The directions of the nation's economic and social development under the Tenth Five-Year Plan fully corresponded to the policy line mapped out by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU. As a

result of its practical implementation all spheres and aspects of Soviet society's life developed dynamically.

The people's well-being has grown, as has also the nation's productive, scientific and technological potential. The socio-political and ideological unity of the people has further consolidated, and the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia and the unbreakable friendship among all nations and ethnic minorities have grown stronger, while socialist democracy has acquired a deeper content.

The great achievements of our developed socialist society are recorded in the new Constitution of the USSR.

Co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries has expanded and become more diversified.

The Soviet Union enjoys extremely high international prestige and exerts a great influence on world development.

We can say with deep satisfaction that the Tenth Five-Year Plan period was one of spectacular achievements by the Party and people. Further progress has been made along the path of communist construction. We have full reason to be proud of this.

As regards the specific indicators characteristic of the country's development, it should be noted, above all, that during the last five years there has been a dramatic growth in the scale of our economy and large gross increments in production. Since the Ninth Five-Year Plan period the national income has grown by 400,000 million roubles and industrial output by 717,000 million.

The chemical and petrochemical industries, electronics, the manufacture of automated equipment and control systems, instrument-making, and the motor industry have developed at accelerated rates. The output of high-technology industrial hardware has increased.

Fixed assets totalling 588,000 million roubles were put into operation. Over 1200 large industrial enterprises were built.

The fuel and energy complex continued to expand. Relying on our rich raw material resources and modern engineering industry, we have made important advances in nuclear power development. Work continued in building the Integrated Power Grid of the USSR, which now covers a territory with a population of over 220 million. A

nationwide Integrated Gas Supply System has been established; the length of its trunk pipelines has been extended by 64,000 kilometres, that is, doubled, over the last two Five-Year Plan periods.

At the 25th Congress Comrade Brezhnev spoke with admiration of the remarkable people who had accomplished a great labour exploit in the rigorous conditions of Western Siberia by building and developing the nation's largest fuel and energy base. Inspired by the Party's high commendation of their work, the Siberians have more than doubled the output of oil (including gas condensate) and increased the output of gas by 330 per cent in the period between the 25th and 26th Congresses. This is yet another great achievement of the nation and a splendid gift to the 26th Congress.

Large-scale measures were carried out under the Tenth Five-Year Plan to secure a further advance of agriculture. Over 170,000 million roubles was allocated for its development. Industry has begun to satisfy the farmers' demand for machines and chemical fertilisers to a fuller extent. Specialised industries, such as rural construction, land reclamation, water management, the manufacture of machines for livestock farming and feed production, and agricultural microbiology have made further progress.

The enlargement of the material resources of agriculture and the implementation of important socioeconomic measures are providing a good foundation for the continued growth of farm output.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather conditions during three of the last five years farm output went up by an average 9 per cent annually. The average annual grain production reached 205 million tons for the first time, which was an increment of over 23 million tons since the Ninth Five-Year Plan period. The average annual cotton production rose by more than a million tons. In 1980 the cotton crop amounted to nearly 10 million tons. The output of other farm produce has likewise increased.

The Party consistently steered a course for raising the people's living and cultural standards. *Per capita* real incomes have risen. Towards the close of the last five-year period nearly half the population had a monthly income of over 100 roubles per family member; in 1970 such an income was earned by only 18 per cent of the population.

The average earnings of factory and office workers have grown almost 16 per cent, and the incomes of peasants from collective farming 26 per cent. There have been pay increases for individual categories of workers in key economic sectors, such as iron and steel and non-ferrous metals, coal, textiles, construction, agriculture, and railways. Wage and salary rates have been raised for all workers in the nonproductive sectors of the national economy.

Housing construction proceeded on a large scale. During the Tenth Five-Year Plan period over 50 million people improved their housing accommodation.

There has been an increase in spending out of the social consumption funds for education, health, the maintenance of veteran workers, and other social needs. Pensions for collective farmers, workers of a number of industries, and disabled persons have been increased. Additional benefits have been provided for veterans of the Great Patriotic War. All this is evidence that this country's working people and war heroes are honoured, universally respected, and surrounded with constant concern by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

All our achievements are the result of the titanic work of the people, the selfless efforts of the working people of all the sister Republics, who in their day-to-day life are performing truly historic exploits, advancing the country to new summits of progress.

We Communists are deeply proud of our heroic working class, our industrious collective farmers, and our talented people's intelligentsia.

We are proud to know that the cause of the Leninist Party, the cause of communism, has become the common cause of all Soviet people. This is the springhead of our strength and invincibility. Led by the Communist Party, the Soviet people are confidently advancing along the path of communist construction.

While praising the achievements made in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, the Party is keenly aware of the existing difficulties and shortcomings. This refers primarily to our failure to attain the planned targets of boosting labour efficiency, accelerating the development of individual branches of the national economy, and ending the dispersion of investments. Resources were not always used effectively. This has been stated emphatically in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee and by other speakers at this Congress.

The main cause of difficulties, shortcomings, and bottlenecks in the economy, as was noted in the Report, is our failure to overcome completely the force of inertia, the traditions and habits left over from the times when quantity had priority over quality.

What the Party is demanding today is essentially an effort to bring into full play the advantages of the socialist economic system and the enormous economic potentialities and resources available for a transition to intensification and higher efficiency of production and better workmanship. Relying on the achievements in economic development, we can thus overcome our difficulties and secure further economic growth in the next five and later years, successfully achieving the tasks to be set by this Congress

II. THE MAIN TARGETS OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE ELEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

As it enters the 1980s, the Party has put forward a scientific programme for the country's further economic and social progress. It has been comprehensively substantiated theoretically and politically in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to this Congress and is concretely embodied in the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the period ending 1990.

The targets for the next five years are defined in the context of a ten-year perspective. This makes it possible to ensure continuity in implementing economic policy, to outline correctly the immediate and longer-term targets, and to determine the ways and means of resolving the key economic problems. This is an important step in the further improvement of our planning.

The cardinal aim the Party has set for the next five years is to ensure a further rise of the Soviet people's living standards through stable, progressive economic growth, accelerated scientific and technological progress, a transition of the economy to intensified development, a more rational utilisation of the nation's productive potential,

the most economical use of all kinds of resources, and an improvement in workmanship.

The development of the key sectors of the national economy planned for the next five years is illustrated by the following figures.

	Increment in 1976-1980 (per cent)	Increment in 1981-1985 planned in draft Guidelines (per cent)
Industrial output	24	26-28
Group A (capital goods)	26	26-28
Group B (consumer goods)	21	27-29
Agricultural output (annual average) ^a	9	12-14
Rail freight turnover	6	14-15
Capital investments ^a	29	12-15
State and co-operative retail trade turnover	24	22-25

^a Increment over the preceding five-year period.

Reviewing these figures, one may note with satisfaction the stable economic growth rates planned for the next five years. This will secure an 18-20 per cent increment in the share of the national income used for consumption and accumulation.

The Programme of Raising the People's Living and Cultural Standards

Concern for the well-being of the people has always been and will remain the supreme aim of the policy and all activities of the Communist Party.

In the next five years the Party plans to put into effect a wide range of measures to advance consistently the people's well-being, to create ever more favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual, for highly productive work, for promoting public health and providing better facilities for rest and leisure, for developing education, science, and culture—in short, everything that goes to make the socialist way of life.

The share of the consumption fund in the national income is to be increased. Real *per capita* incomes will rise 16-18 per cent.

Among the measures aimed at raising the people's living standards, more complete satisfaction of the population's effective demand for various goods and services is of special importance. The trade turnover of the state and co-operative distributive networks will increase 22-25 per cent.

A food production programme and a programme of developing consumer goods production are being drawn up and will be implemented. This will improve the supply of the population with meat, milk, fruit, and other foodstuffs. Various kinds of cotton, woollen, silken, and flaxen fabrics and articles made of them, knitted underwear and outer clothes, goods for children, recreational and household goods will be on sale in larger quantities. It is planned to widen and renew the range of consumer goods, to improve their quality, and increase the sales of modern and fashionable, as well as inexpensive goods of good quality. At the same time the policy of maintaining stability of state retail prices of staple foodstuffs and consumer goods will be pursued consistently. Much is to be done to develop and improve the work of the distributive network, public catering and everyday services—in fact, the entire range of consumer services.

The cash incomes of the population will continue to grow. The average earnings of factory and office workers are to rise 13-16 per cent. The pay rates should be more closely tied to the performance results achieved by collectives and each of their members. As soon as conditions permit and adequate resources are accumulated, there is to be a gradual increase in the minimum monthly pay rate, to bring it up to 80 roubles, and in other wages and salaries, primarily in the productive sectors of the national economy.

Some other measures are to be carried out under a centralised scheme: regional pay rate differentials are to be introduced in the Urals and some areas of Kazakhstan for factory and office workers not yet granted them; long-service increments in the southern areas of the Soviet Far East and Eastern Siberia; larger increments in pay for night work in some industries.

Roughly 10,000 million roubles is to be allocated for implementing new measures to raise pay rates as planned for 1985.

The rate of remuneration of collective farmers is to grow 20–22 per cent. Together with returns from their subsidiary plots, their incomes will come close to those of factory and office workers.

As you know, a wide range of measures of great practical significance to each Soviet family are financed by the state through the social consumption funds. In 1985 these funds will amount to 138,000 million roubles, which is roughly an average 2000 roubles per family of four.

The Party's Central Committee and the Government have worked out and intend to carry into effect in the next five and later years a new system of measures to improve the life of mothers and the rising generation and with this aim in view to increase government aid to families with children and to newly-weds. These measures provide for increasing the incomes of families with children, improving their housing, particularly of young families, for further expanding the network of preschool child care centres to make their services available to every family, for allowing mothers more leisure time, and creating better conditions for the upbringing of children.

At the first stage—in the next five years—more than 9000 million roubles is to be allocated to increase government aid to families with children; this will be put into effect gradually, region by region. These funds will be used to introduce between 1981 and 1983 a partially paid maternity leave for the care of a baby until the age of one year. Subsequently, this leave will be extended to 18 months.

It is planned to introduce government lump allowances of 50 roubles on the birth of a first child, and 100 roubles on the birth of a second and third child respectively, as well as to lengthen by three days the annual holiday of working mothers of two or more children under the age of 12. In 1981 there will be an increase in the monthly allowances to single mothers.

Mother and child welfare in this country is truly a matter of national concern. The new resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers is further conclusive evidence of the Party and Government steadfastly abiding by Lenin's behest that what is best should be given to children.

It is planned to improve in the next five years the living conditions of veteran workers retired on pension, to increase the minimum old-

age and disability pensions for factory and office workers and collective farmers, loss of breadwinner pensions, and some pensions granted earlier. New measures are to be implemented to improve the material security and living conditions of veterans of the Great Patriotic War.

Within the next five years the government is to allocate additionally nearly 6000 million roubles to improve the social security of the population.

According to estimates, larger government aid to families with children and larger pensions will add to the incomes of some 50 million Soviet citizens.

Concern for public health is a distinctive feature of our society. In the next five years new polyclinics and hospitals will be put into service, and the supply of medical institutions with special apparatus, instruments, and other equipment will be improved. More attention will be given to disease prevention and preventive medical check-ups, of children in the first place.

First priority is now attached to improving the quality of medical service by the application of scientific and technological achievements, modern methods of diagnosis and therapy, and efficacious medicines. And, of course, the standard of medical service also largely depends on the professional skill, competence, tact and friendly attention of doctors, nurses and other ancillary personnel to anybody in need of medical aid. The health authorities and personnel of medical institutions should give unflagging attention to advancing qualifications and cultivating the noble moral qualities without which the medical profession is inconceivable.

The organisation of rest and leisure, tourism, and excursion services are to be further developed and improved. More facilities are to be made available to parents in need of accommodation together with their children for recreation and medical treatment.

Physical culture and sports will become part of the daily life of Soviet citizens on a wider scale. Better use should be made of existing sports facilities regardless of whichever organisation they belong to. This should be a matter of concern to the Soviets of People's Deputies, the Ministries and government departments, economic agencies, the trade unions, the YCL, and sports organisations.

As in previous years, housing construction is to proceed on a large scale in the next five years. It is planned to build over the period 530–540 million m² of housing. Here priority must be given to areas under development and to rural localities. Transition is to be completed to the building of houses according to standard blueprints with an improved layout of flats and interior decoration. In the next five years new state-owned housing is to be distributed, as a rule, on the principle: a separate flat for every family.

The draft provides for a system of measures to promote education and enhance the role played by socialist culture and art in enriching the intellectual life of Soviet citizens.

Great importance is attached to improving the training of personnel and to training more specialists in new areas of science and technology. It is a task for institutions of higher learning, secondary and vocational schools constantly to improve the teaching process and actively instil a sense of duty to society and the communist world outlook in the younger generation.

The steps to develop TV and radio broadcasting services and publishing and to improve the work of cultural and educational institutions will likewise contribute to the more complete and comprehensive satisfaction of cultural needs.

It should be emphasised that in the programme of social development in the coming years, special importance is attached to improving working conditions and reducing in every way manual, unskilled and arduous labour, and to easing its conditions. Advancement of the standards of mechanisation of hoisting and haulage, material-handling and warehousing operations will save the labour power of 1.5–2 million people.

Work is the main sphere of man's activity, so its content and creative character should be constantly enriched.

Utmost concern for every individual, for his or her needs and requirements, is, as Comrade Brezhnev noted, the alpha and omega of our economic policy. The great significance of the Leninist Party's activity lies in that it has always struggled and worked for a better and happier life for the working people. The Soviet people are confident that this line will still be pursued in the future.

Utmost Enhancement of Production Efficiency: the Central Economic and Political Task

We can carry into effect a large and comprehensive programme of advancing the people's well-being only by expanding material production and improving its efficiency.

Maximising production efficiency is a fundamental principle of modern economic progress, the most crucial economic and political task at the current stage of communist construction.

For its historic scope, significance and implications the current rearing of the national economy along the lines of intensification may be compared to such a sweeping transformation as socialist industrialisation which radically changed the face of the country.

As Comrade Brezhnev pointed out, all efforts—accelerating scientific and technological progress, perfecting the structure of social production, improving planning and management, and raising the standards of economic performance—must be subordinated to the task of making the economy more intensive and achieving higher production results with smaller inputs and resources. This approach to the matter in hand by the Party's Central Committee has been unanimously approved by this Congress. It has the support of the entire Party and all Soviet people.

In the 1980s we are to complete the switchover of the economy to the path of intensification, and to implement new measures to improve further the efficiency of socialist production. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan can and must be a long step in this direction.

The draft Guidelines submitted to this Congress for consideration were drawn up in view of the need to bring into play more fully the enormous productive potential built up by many generations of Soviet men and women.

A distinctive feature of the plan for the next five years is the provision for a priority growth of ultimate economic results compared with an increase in manpower and material inputs, including capital investments. Steps are envisaged to ensure the most rational utilisation of all available resources.

The principal factor in economic growth is increasing the productivity of labour. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the pro-

ductivity of social labour is to be raised 17–20 per cent. This growth will account for at least 85–90 per cent of the increment in the national income.

It is necessary to ensure considerably higher growth rates of the productivity of labour in industry, agriculture, construction, and railway transportation than those envisaged in the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

Labour Productivity Increases (per cent)

	1976–1980	1981–1985 as planned in draft Guidelines
Industry	17	23–25
Agriculture (social production; annual, average as compared with previous five years)	15	22–24
Construction	11	15–17
Railways	0.5	10–12

In all sectors of the economy it is essential to create favourable conditions for highly productive work, accelerate comprehensive mechanisation and automation in every way, persistently introduce team-based organisation of work, perfect rate-setting, and enhance the incentive role of earnings. Arrangements have to be made to increase production at operating enterprises with the same or smaller work force. Attention should also be given to making more rational use of manpower in the non-productive sphere.

In the coming period, as was pointed out in the report of the CPSU Central Committee, it will be especially important for economic development to reduce the consumption of materials per unit of output, and to make economical use of raw materials, fuel, energy, metal, cement, chemical fertiliser, and other materials. It must be borne in mind that the costs of maintaining let alone increasing the production of raw materials, fuel and power are steadily growing. To meet the demand for them, sparsely populated areas difficult of access in the north and east have to be developed. Every ton of oil, coal, and metal saved has an ever greater economic effect, while the damage

caused by their irrational use becomes more and more palpable. Yet we are not always able, for the present, to use material resources thriftily and hence are incurring big losses.

In the coming five years radical improvements have to be made in this field. Tight restrictions are being introduced on the use of all resources. Every Ministry, the Union Republics, and enterprises will be assigned quotas for saving resources. In the next five years a total of 160–170 million tons of fuel in conventional units will be saved in the national economy. In engineering and metalworking, per unit outlays of rolled ferrous metal are to be reduced at least 18–20 per cent, of steel pipes 10–12 per cent, and of non-ferrous metal 9–11 per cent. Quotas are being set for saving timber, cement, and other materials.

It is highly important to expedite the solution of problems involved in improving the utilisation of scrap metal. Hence it is planned to build small iron works to smelt scrap in areas where much of it is usually available.

The quotas for saving fuel, raw and other materials, manpower and financial resources are to be regarded by Ministries and government departments, enterprises and organisations as minimal and mandatory. At all levels of the economy and in all its sectors a set of measures should be drawn up and implemented for saving resources, including the use of advanced technology and low-waste or waste-free processes, and advanced experience should be broadly disseminated. This is not only an effective means of saving social labour and natural wealth but also an indispensable prerequisite for maintaining a balance between production, material resources, and the demand for them.

One of the key tasks of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is to secure more complete and effective use of fixed assets. Although they are growing rapidly, the returns on them are often inadequate. The plant in service not infrequently operates below capacity. In the engineering industry the shift index of metalworking equipment is 1.35. Main productive facilities at operating enterprises are being renewed too slowly. Moreover, the techno-economic parameters of new, more expensive equipment sometimes differ but little from those of phased out plant.

The fixed assets on many collective and state farms are not used rationally enough. Owing to poor maintenance and storage, machinery at times quickly becomes unusable and is written off before the expiry of its normal service life.

The rate of returns on investments and other economic indicators are adversely affected by delays in commissioning new productive capacities.

We are to make appreciable headway in increasing the effectiveness of capital investments. The planned growth of the national income in the next five years is to be achieved with a lower growth of capital investments in both absolute and relative terms than in the previous five years. More vigorous action is needed to put into effect the directives of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Brezhnev's instructions concerning determined steps to be taken to end the dispersion of capital investments and to concentrate them in the key sectors of industrial and agricultural production, on projects due for completion, and on cutting the time of building new projects.

Special mention should be made of capital investments in the reconstruction and technological modernisation of operating enterprises. The funds allocated for these purposes are recouped three times as fast on average as in the case of similar productive capacities built anew; the demand for manpower is likewise reduced. The share of funds for reconstruction in the total of capital investments should be increased considerably. The USSR State Planning Committee, the Ministries and government departments, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics should carefully consider and reconsider these matters before setting targets for the Five-Year Plan.

An efficient economy also implies a high quality of products, an improvement in their techno-economic characteristics. Definite advances have been made in this direction in recent years, but they cannot satisfy us. The quality of all types of industrial and agricultural products has to be improved, and the range of goods has to be continually expanded and renewed in keeping with the requirements of scientific and technological progress, as well as with the mounting consumer demands. An important role is to be played by the introduction of comprehensive systems of controlling the quality of output, and by the improvement of the standards and technical specifica-

tions of finished products, standard components, and raw and other materials.

The emphasis on efficiency and quality is linked organically by the Party with work to advance production on the basis of modern science and technology. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan sets the task of speeding the technological modernisation of production, of the fastest possible development and universal introduction of fundamentally new technology and materials, and the large-scale application of highly efficient energy-and material-saving processes.

The rate of machinery renewal is to be increased roughly 50 per cent. At the same time, enterprises must not be allowed to manufacture products of out-of-date design, whose use yields no tangible gain in labour productivity. The system of evaluating the technical standards of machinery and equipment has to be tightened. To assure the timely phasing out of obsolete plant from production it may, perhaps, be expedient to fix time limits for its manufacture and introduce more effective sanctions against producers of outdated models.

Science has a growing role to play in the development of modern production. The draft Guidelines have formulated the task of making scientific research more effective, substantially reducing the lead time in applying the achievements of science and technology, and strengthening the links of fundamental and applied research with production. It is the duty of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and all Ministries and government departments to make rational use of the funds allocated for science, to concentrate them in first priority areas, and to coordinate the activities of scientific institutions more effectively, with a view to a speedier application of research results. It is necessary to expand the work in drafting and implementing comprehensive target-oriented programmes. This approach will make it possible to pool the efforts of scientists, production managers and engineers, and officials of planning bodies and Ministries to cope with major scientific and technological problems. Such an effective form of combining science and production as research-and-production associations is to be further advanced. Each of these associations should become a major centre for developing and manufacturing new high-grade products, and improving production technology and organisation.

The tasks facing us in improving production efficiency and quality are truly formidable in scale and complexity, but we are confident that with persistent and purposeful efforts by economic bodies, Party organisations, the Soviets of People's Deputies, trade unions, the YCL, and work collectives they will be successfully fulfilled.

The Key Aspects of Developing Individual Sectors of Material Production

The draft Guidelines indicate the ways of developing individual sectors of material production, and improving the structure of the national economy and the deployment of productive forces. I shall dwell on some of them.

A fundamental distinction of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is a higher growth rate of the 'B' group industries compared with that of the 'A' group industries.

In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period the output of foodstuffs and consumer goods is to grow as follows:

	Unit of measure	1980	1985	Percentage increase 1981-1985
Food industry	thous. mil. roubles	100	123-126	23-26
Meat (with byproducts of 1st quality) made of raw materials from state stocks	mil. tons	8.3	11.1	34
Whole milk products made of raw materials from state stocks (in terms of milk)	mil. tons	24.87	28.3	14
Light industry	thous. mil. roubles	100	118-120	18-20
Fabrics	thous. mil. sq. m.	10.7	12.7	19
Knitted goods	mil. pieces	1622	2060	27
Leather footwear	mil. pairs	744.3	830	11.5
Recreational and household goods	thous. mil. roubles	43.5	6.10	at least 40

The accelerated growth of the 'B' group industries is a matter of great significance. Party and government bodies, Ministries and government departments, managers and personnel of enterprises have to make every effort to expand the production of goods for the population and substantially improve their quality. What is particularly important here is to use initiative and perseverance to make fuller use of all available potentialities and reserves both in light and food industries, and in heavy industry. Local resources, too, have to be used more effectively to increase the production of consumer goods. It is a matter of honour and professional pride to all consumer goods producers to manufacture attractive products of good quality, bringing joy and comfort to homes.

A decisive role in advancing the national economy and securing good end results is played by the basic industries: the electric power, iron-and-steel, chemical, and engineering industries.

The growth of output of key items in the basic industries under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is to be as follows.

	Unit of measure	1980	1985	Percentage increase 1981-1985
Electric power	thous. mil. kwh	1295	1550-1600	20-24
Oil (including gas condensate)	mil. tons	603	620-645	3-7
Gas	thous. mil. m ³	435	600-640	38-47
Coal	mil. tons	716.4	770-800	7-12
Finished ferrous rolled stock	mil. tons	103	117-120	14-17
Products of engineering and metal-working	thous. mil. roubles	179	250	at least 40
Mineral fertilizer: in conventional units	mil. tons	104	150-155	44-49
in terms of 100% nutrients	mil. tons	24.8	36-37	45-49
Synthetic resins and plastics	mil. tons	3.64	6-6.25	65-72
Chemical fibre and thread	thous. tons	1176	1600	36
Cement (excluding output of inter-sectoral organisations)	mil. tons	124	140-142	13-15

The growth of the country's economic potential largely depends on its mineral and raw material resources. Under the new Five-Year Plan, geological prospecting is to be conducted more persistently and on a wider scale. It is our duty—however great our natural resources may be—to conduct a constant search for the most rational ways of extracting them and utilising them economically.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan will mark the first stage in implementing the energy programme of the USSR, which is being worked out at Comrade Brezhnev's initiative. Prime significance is attached in it to the rapid development of the gas industry, above all in Western Siberia, with its enormous gas fields. Western Siberia is to account for the entire increment in gas production under the new Five-Year Plan.

Big and complex tasks will have to be accomplished in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period in the oil industry.

Electric power production is to be increased, chiefly by using nuclear fuel, hydropower resources, and coal in the eastern areas of the country. In 1981–1985 nuclear and hydropower plants are to account for more than 70 per cent of the increment in electric power production, and in the European part of the country, for almost 100 per cent. Big thermal power projects are to be built to use cheap coal supplied by open-cast mines of the Kansk-Achinsk and Ekibastuz coalfields.

In the coming years it is proposed to initiate a fundamentally new development in the centralised heat supply of big cities, namely to build several big nuclear heat-generating stations, each of which will be able to assure a dependable heat supply to a city with many thousands of inhabitants without polluting the environment.

As a matter of national economic importance, the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, and other Ministries and government departments will have to find in good time a comprehensive solution to all problems connected with the task, formulated by Comrade Brezhnev, of organising production of liquid fuel from coal of the Kansk-Achinsk deposits. We must conduct a more vigorous search for new and effective energy sources and use them to the best advantage.

The further growth of fuel and power production and the improvement of the fuel-and-power budget will help raise substantially the level of electrification in all sectors of the national economy and in everyday life.

In developing metallurgy, along with the rise in the output of metal, still more determined steps will be taken to improve the quality of metal and boost the output of higher grades of metal products. One of the key tasks is to reduce the consumption of rolled iron and steel per unit of end product in industry and construction. This task will be accomplished by improving the quality and extending the range of rolled stock, and increasing the output of sections requiring minimal machining by users. There is to be a considerable increase in the production of powdered metals, which are very effectively used, in the national economy.

These measures, as well as improvement of machine design and metalworking technology, extensive use of chemical and other structural materials will save 8 million tons of rolled iron and steel in the engineering industry and another 2 million tons in construction in 1985.

To ensure an improvement in the quality of metal products, work should be continued in the extensive technical modernisation of metallurgical plants and the introduction of advanced technological processes.

Improving the quality of metal products is part of the larger problem of securing cardinal advances in the field of structural materials. The share of aluminium, other non-ferrous metals, and precision alloys in their output is to grow. The production of semiconductor, extra-pure, and other materials with enhanced parameters is to be expanded. There are to be increases in the manufacture of plastics, glue-laminated wooden structures, wooden wallboards, cardboard, and other products of the chemical, woodworking, and paper-and-pulp industries.

The technical modernisation of the national economy and its intensification raise extremely challenging problems to engineering. The draft Guidelines call for at least a 40 per cent increase in the output of that industry in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period. There are to be increments in the production of the power engineering, heavy,

transport, chemical, oil, and agricultural engineering industries, the machine-tool industry, instrument-making, electrical engineering, and machine-building for light and food industries.

The engineering industry itself is to be made more efficient by improvements in its technology, greater specialisation, and a better-structured stock of metal-working equipment. More attention should be given to developing and concentrating the manufacture of general engineering products.

But of course what is most important is improving the quality and renewing the output of the engineering industry. The demand for machines and equipment for the mechanisation and automation of production in all sectors of the national economy must be satisfied more fully.

There is to be a considerable expansion of the production of mini-computers as components of various basic technological equipment, instruments, and various control and monitoring systems and facilities. The unit power of assemblies and installations is to be increased, their service life extended, and their reliability and efficiency enhanced. More automatic manipulators (industrial robots) are to be manufactured.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan calls for a big step forward in the technical modernisation of the oil, gas, light, food, and other industries. Work is to be completed, in the main, on developing machine systems for the comprehensive mechanisation of building and land reclamation work. The range of mechanisms for agricultural machine systems is to be enlarged.

It is proposed to speed up the development and production of more efficient machines, which make for a maximum saving of raw materials, fuel, and energy resources. For reusable energy in the iron-and-steel, chemical, and other industries to be utilised more effectively, it is envisaged to enlarge the production of recovery boilers by 60 per cent. There is to be a 90 per cent rise in the production of diesel lorries, resulting in substantial fuel economy.

Speaking of engineering, I would like to dwell on yet another matter. This industry is called upon not only to manufacture up-to-date machinery, but also vigorously help to ensure its efficient performance in the hands of the consumer. This requires an extensive

participation of engineering plants in assembling sophisticated equipment during the construction process, measures for a radical improvement of its technical servicing and centralised repairs by the manufacturer and also for fuller satisfaction of the demand of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms for spare parts.

Work is to be continued in the new Five-Year Plan period to ensure the coordinated and balanced development of the sectors of the economy that form the integrated agro-industrial complex. Nearly one-third of the total capital investment in the national economy is to be used for its development and improvement, and the greater part of these funds directly to boost farm production. This is dictated by the immense importance of this sector of the economy in solving the food problem.

In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period the output of agricultural produce is to grow as follows.

	Unit of measure	Annual average 1976-1980	Annual average 1981-1985	Annual average percentage increase 1981-1985
Cereals	mil. tons	205.0	238-243	16-19
Sugar beets	mil. tons	88.4	100-103	13-16
Sunflower seed	mil. tons	5.32	6.8	28
Raw cotton	mil. tons	8.9	9.2-9.3	3-4
Meat (slaughter weight)	mil. tons	14.8	17-17.5	15-18
Milk	mil. tons	92.6	97-99	5-7
Eggs	thous. mil. pcs	63.1	72	14
Vegetables	mil. tons	26.0	29.4	13
Fruit and berries	mil. tons	9.4	11.5	22
Wool	thous. tons	460	470-480	2-4

The targets for increasing agricultural production are very high. They will require a considerable improvement in the use of allocated resources, a further increase in output and the efficiency of farming. The central tasks are to put up grain output, radically improve feed production and expand livestock farming on that basis, to take steps to reduce losses of farm produce, and to improve its quality.

The *per capita* increment in agricultural production is to be twice that of the previous five years. This requires better use of the land, higher specialisation and concentration of farming, further consolidation of the material and technical basis of agriculture, and its transition to industrial lines and advanced technologies. It is envisaged to raise the level of mechanisation of agricultural work, primarily on livestock farms. The power-to-labour ratio on the collective and state farms will go up 50 per cent in the five-year period, and the assets-to-labour ratio 40 per cent. Supplies of new machinery are to increase. The collective and state farms are to be much better equipped with heavy-duty tractors and lorries. In the next five years it is necessary to remedy the situation as regards the quality of farm machinery, which at present evokes too many complaints. That quality must be made to meet the most stringent demands.

Soviet industry is steadily increasing the production and supplies to the collective and state farms of chemical fertilisers and pest control chemicals. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan provides for a nearly 50 per cent increment in the production of chemical fertilisers. The chemical industry must produce more concentrated and compound fertilisers. At the same time it is necessary to improve the use and distribution of chemical fertilisers. What matters most here is to achieve the best effect, to ensure that the farms getting greater supplies of chemical fertilisers should increase accordingly the production and sales of agricultural produce. The USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics must study and find a correct solution to this problem of national importance.

A similar approach would be correct in using land reclamation funds.

Speaking of feed supplies to livestock farms, it is necessary to stress the great importance of using the resources of grain forage more effectively. In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period it is proposed to make cattle feed more balanced in terms of proteins and other nutrients. This is to be achieved through a quicker expansion of the areas under forage grain, pulses, and other high-protein crops, of the output of microbiological synthesis products, through eliminating nutrient losses in feed, and developing the feed-production industry.

I would like to dwell specifically on the problems of farm produce preservation. Up to now there have been losses of grain, potatoes and other vegetables, meat and milk right down the line from product to consumer. No small amounts of chemical fertilizers and feed are also lost. To improve the conditions of produce storage and to reduce losses it is envisaged to set aside in the new Five-Year Plan 15,000 million roubles for capital investments, or 60 per cent more than under the previous plan. These funds are to be used to build granaries, refrigerators, vegetable and feed storages, and other facilities. But success in cutting losses depends to an enormous extent on the organisation of work and a conscientious, thrifty attitude to its fruits, and this must be uppermost in our minds.

An important role in advancing agriculture is assigned to science. The efforts of scientists must be directed to achieving a maximum in soil fertility and crop yields, and to improving seed farming. New highly productive varieties of grain crops, cotton, sugar beet, and sunflower have to be evolved and introduced into farming more quickly, and there have to be advances in breeding work to improve the pedigree and productiveness of animals.

The productive potential of Soviet agriculture has vastly increased. It is now especially important to use it efficiently and to secure maximum returns on the funds invested in the agro-industrial complex. This can be achieved primarily by good organisation, initiative, and a responsible attitude to their duties by all farmers as well as the workers of the related industries concerned with the storage, transportation, and processing of farm produce, and its delivery to the consumer. And, of course, a great deal here depends on our engineering workers, whose job it is to supply all sectors of the agro-industrial complex with highly efficient machinery.

Nor must we forget such a potential factor in increasing meat, milk, potato, and other farm production as the subsidiary holdings of citizens and the subsidiary farms run by enterprises and institutions to supply their personnel.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan period will see the further development of the various aspects of the industrial infrastructure. It is a matter of high priority to overcome the lagging of railway services behind the requirements of the national economy. The draft Guide-

lines call for substantially reinforcing the material and technical facilities of railway transport. Capital investments in this field are to be increased more than 30 per cent. The fleet of electrical and diesel locomotives will expand. Containerised and packaged goods transportation in the 1980s is to increase three-fold.

The USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the Ministry of Railways, and other Ministries and government departments have to improve substantially the management of the transportation process, reducing the average length of goods haulage and eliminating irrational freight traffic.

The Ministry of Railways must take resolute steps to raise the organisational standards of service, persistently introduce comprehensive mechanisation in material handling, and repair operations, increase traffic speeds and ensure uninterrupted delivery of freight to consumers.

A number of new passenger and freight lines are to be added to all types of transport. It is proposed to build nearly 12,000 kilometres of pipelines for oil products, or five times the length commissioned under the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Round-the-year navigation is to be introduced in the western part of the Arctic Ocean as far as the Vilkitsky Strait.

The share of motor and river transport in freight and passenger traffic is to increase. Work is to be continued in building a network of paved motor highways, primarily in Siberia and the Soviet Far East, as well as in the non-*chernozem*¹ zone of the Russian Federation. In Siberia and the Soviet Far East it is planned to improve river harbour facilities. These areas will get nearly half of all the capital investments for that purpose, so that areas of intensive development will have good transportation links via the Arctic seas, the commissioned sections of the Baikal-Amur Railway, and Siberian rivers.

Air transport will be reinforced with new economical and comfortable air liners. The network of airports on main and local lines will

¹ Chernozem (Russ.). Fertile black earth. *Translator.*

be extended, and they will be better equipped with mechanised and automated transportation and aircraft servicing facilities.

Measures will be taken to improve the coordination of work of all types of transport and their interaction with other branches of the national economy.

Big targets are to be fixed for extending the communication services to satisfy the needs of the population for such services more fully. The number of private telephones is to increase 40 per cent.

The growth of the country's economic potential depends to a decisive degree on progress in capital construction. The Central Committee of the Party and the Government devote keen attention to improving matters in this sector of the economy. Much is expected of the builders and designers in the next five years. Their duty is to ensure high quality, efficiency and speed in designing and building, and to see to it that each project is commissioned on schedule and is up-to-date in every respect.

It is essential to show still greater persistence in opposing any sidetracking of material resources and manpower from the key building projects, dragging out building schedules, and to continue the policy of limiting the number of projects built simultaneously.

In 1980 we managed to hold down growth in the number of uncompleted building projects, and we are determined to reduce their scope to normal by 1983. The USSR State Planning Committee, the Ministries and government departments, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics must show greater firmness and strictly abide by state interests when considering every new project. We must resolutely put an end to the practice of allocating funds and material resources to any region just because it has long-established building organisations. What is more, the network of these organisations and building industry bases must be geared to the expanding geography of our building projects.

The Ministries must take steps to increase the capacities of territorial building and assembly organisations in areas where construction is concentrated, expand and make better use of mobile building units, and introduce progressive building methods throughout the country. The efforts to raise the level of industrialisation in the building industry must not be slackened.

Party and government bodies and people's control committees must exercise constant control over construction and resolutely oppose any parochialism, departmentalism, and dissipation of funds, while raising the responsibility of executives for on-schedule completion of projects and for their quality.

In the next five years and later, we will continue our efforts to improve the deployment of productive forces in both the developed and new regions. It is planned to intensify their comprehensive development and specialisation, and to rationalise their mutual economic links. The natural wealth of the country's eastern and northern regions is to be developed according to plan, and at a faster rate. As noted above, these regions are gaining ever greater importance as suppliers of fuel, energy, and mineral raw materials.

Territorial-industrial complexes, such as the West-Siberian, Sayan, Angara-Yenisei, Timano-Pechora, South-Yakutian, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, and South-Tajikistan will go on developing. Their development is entering a new stage, marked by the emergence and growth of a large complex of industries and ancillary enterprises. The commissioning of the initial capacities at the Tobolsk and Tomsk plants in Western Siberia, for example, is to give a start to the formation of the country's largest petrochemical centre. In this region we are planning construction of plants making equipment for the oil, gas and chemical industries, and of other projects. Enterprises that will be built here to assure fuller use of casing-head gas will enable us to reduce gas losses approximately two and a half times in five years.

Completion of the Baikal-Amur Railway will be a turning point in the economic fortunes of a vast region. In the face of great hardships, the builders have performed a great and noble deed; they have exceeded the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, and built hundreds of kilometres of roads, new towns and settlements, and dozens of production facilities. This has provided a good basis for coping with the next task—opening through traffic all along the Baikal-Amur trunk line in the new Five-Year Plan period.

Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government, to express our heartfelt gratitude to the builders, the railwaymen, the personnel of enterprises, the Komsomols, to all those taking part in this gigantic project.

Certainly, it will take many a year to draw the natural resources of the zone of the Baikal-Amur Railway into the economic turnover. But the USSR State Planning Committee, jointly with the Ministries and government departments, and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, must already now give more attention to drawing up a comprehensive programme for the development of its rich deposits of coking coal, ferrous and non-ferrous ore, rare metals, and other minerals, including the unique Udokan copper deposits, the timber resources in the Trans-Baikal area, South Yakutia, and the Soviet Far East. The programme must substantiate and determine the order of priority whereby the natural wealth of the Baikal-Amur Railway zone is to be drawn into the economic turnover to provide for rational management of the development of that large region. In short, we must have a well-considered and clear-cut programme of action that will allow maximum returns to be obtained in the minimum time on the large funds the state has invested in the construction of the railway.

The economy and culture of all the fraternal republics will see further advances in the next five years. The pertinent assignments for each republic are stated in a special section of the draft Guidelines. I will not repeat them, and will only note that they are based on the principle of aligning comprehensive and balanced economic development of the Union Republics with the advantages of the nationwide division of labour. Fulfilment of these assignments will speed up the all-round development and convergence of the economies of the Union Republics within the framework of an integrated national economic complex. This approach completely conforms with the principles of the Party's Leninist nationalities policy.

In the next five years, therefore, we will go a long way in further developing all branches of the national economy and the economic regions. The Party's Central Committee and the Government are confident that by their creative and selfless labour the miners, steel-makers, oil and gas workers, workers of the engineering industry, light and food industries, farmers, building workers, scientists, engineers, and technicians—the working people in all the republics, territories and regions—will successfully carry out the new constructive tasks.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Extending economic, scientific and technical ties with other countries, using the opportunities of mutually beneficial international division of labour, is an important area in the activity of the Soviet State.

It is only natural that now, as before, co-operation with socialist countries is in the focus of our attention. Economic, scientific, and technical ties between the fraternal countries rest on the enduring foundation of common interests and are deep-rooted and comprehensive in character. Large scale integrated projects, such as the Druzhba oil pipeline, the Mir power grid, and the Bratstvo and Soyuz gas pipelines are in service and doing good work. Their very names—Friendship, Peace, Fraternity and Alliance—reflect the essence of the new type of economic relations as relations of fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance. We will continue to improve the coordination of our national economic plans with those of other Comecon member countries, and to deepen socialist economic integration. We see this as an important means of strengthening the positions of socialism in the world economy, and of shielding the socialist countries from the harmful tendencies manifest in the world capitalist economy. The turnover of Soviet trade with our Comecon partners is to increase substantially.

Our economic cooperation with them is centred on resolving crucial problems such as energy, supply and rational use of fuel and raw materials; raising the technical level and quality of products of engineering, extending co-operation in the manufacture of progressive types of machines and equipment, and extending the range and improving the quality of consumer goods. That, indeed, is the purpose of the joint target oriented long-term co-operation programmes of the Comecon countries for the period up to 1990.

For the coming five-year period agreements have been concluded for specialisation and co-operation in manufacturing equipment for atomic power plants, heavy and special-purpose machine-tools, processing centres and digital programme controlled machine-tools, tractors, farm machines, mining and other equipment. Such major

projects as the Khmel'nitsky atomic power plant, ore-dressing complexes, and ferro-alloy works are to go up within the framework of the integration scheme in Soviet territory. At the same time the Soviet Union will participate in the construction of a number of important industrial projects in the fraternal countries.

Our co-operation with the developing countries is based on a fair and equitable foundation. It consists in trade and economic assistance we give them in building industrial and agricultural projects, and training national personnel, and the implementation of long-term industrial co-operation agreements.

As before, the Soviet Union is in favour of stable, mutually beneficial ties with the capitalist countries, and their extension based on strict compliance with reciprocal commitments. We give due credit to many of the capitalist countries and their businessmen for their constructive approach to questions of international economic co-operation and will develop our trade with these countries first and foremost. It is not our fault, for example, that trade with the USA is declining or stagnating. That is a result of US policy, which is designed to use trade for unseemly political ends foreign to the interests of equitable international co-operation. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are prepared to develop economic relations with the United States as well on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Our foreign economic relations must, to a still greater degree, help meet the needs of the national economy for equipment, technologies, and raw and other materials, and the demand for consumer goods. Planning and economic bodies are called upon to work continuously for more effective foreign economics ties in order to economise labour and material resources, to speed up technological progress, and to gain time.

The Soviet Union's line of extensive development of international economic co-operation has not changed, because that is our principled course reflecting in foreign economic relations the purposeful orientation of Soviet foreign policy on safeguarding peace, deepening *détente*, and furthering mutual understanding among nations.

IV. STEADILY IMPROVING THE STANDARDS OF CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress, much has been done in recent years to improve the economic mechanism and the forms and methods of management in industry, agriculture and construction. We are going over to double-and three-tiered systems of management based on industrial and other production amalgamations. The powers and functions of Ministries have been extended. Some of them have been reorganised. New Ministries have been set up to suit the needs of the national economy. The Party sees further improvement of management and the economic mechanism as an essential condition for the growth and increased effectiveness of social production. The Party's Central Committee and the Government have drawn up a set of measures to improve the economic mechanism and enhance its positive influence on efficiency and quality. It is envisaged to improve planning, enhance economic accounting, and the effectiveness of material and moral incentives.

Ministries and government departments, and economic executives must work energetically to make sure that the envisaged measures are carried out in full and the amalgamations and enterprises go over to the new pattern of management. This calls for much work at all levels—by the USSR State Planning Committee and other central economic bodies, by Ministries and government departments, and by the amalgamations and enterprises themselves. There can be no excuse here for procrastination and passiveness.

Experience has shown that not all branches of the economy have used up the opportunities for heightening efficiency of production through improvements in the system of management. We must make a close analysis of the principles on which amalgamations are organised and of the mechanism by which they function, and see whether or not the required concentration and specialisation of production are being carried into effect everywhere. Are the powers and duties apportioned reasonably enough between the amalgamations and their production subdivisions? Clearly, infringement of the powers of one side and granting excess powers to the other do not make for successful operation. Yet, this is sometimes seen in practice. Drawing

on available experience, we must gear the existing master schemes to the tasks of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. Anything that holds up growth and interferes with our advance must be put out of the way, while what is best and has stood the test of time must be given broad scope.

In pursuance of the line of setting up the most effective organisational structures, we must persistently carry out measures to eliminate departmental separatism, secure a more flexible combination of sectoral and territorial management, and further fulfilment of target-oriented programmes. The initial measures for management of the West-Siberian oil and gas complex as one whole have been drawn up and are being carried out. That is the path we should evidently follow when elaborating and implementing other inter-sectoral and regional programmes. The aim of securing the right combination of the sectoral and territorial principles in resolving questions of effective management and further improving the working and living conditions of Soviet people is served by the measures to heighten the role of the Soviets in economic development. The executive bodies of the Soviets should make the most of the powers vested in them.

National economic planning is the supreme principle of management. It is the dictate of life to raise all planning to a qualitatively new level; this applies above all to the USSR State Planning Committee. Now more than ever it must concentrate on resolving the key, long-term problems, and on determining the optimum inter-sectoral and territorial proportions. Recently, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution on improving the work of the USSR State Planning Committee. It is designed to strengthen the comprehensive approach to planning for inter-related branches of the national economy and regions of the country, and to resolving large-scale economic and social problems. By this token, it is necessary to enhance the role of the central planning body in securing rational use of manpower and of material and financial resources, in setting priorities in the development of economic sectors and regions, in improving economic proportions, and speeding up the realisation of scientific and technical discoveries and research results.

Very soon, the course of the country's social and economic development charted by the Congress will be translated into detailed and

concrete assignments of the Five-Year Plan. When doing this work, the USSR State Planning Committee the Ministries and government departments, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics must ensure that the targets set in the plan strictly and unconditionally correspond to the assignments in the Guidelines adopted by this Congress. The Government sees its task in faithfully putting this requirement into effect. We must get a realistic, thoroughly balanced plan, which is to provide a solid foundation for all subsequent work in implementing the decisions of this Congress.

I would like to make special mention of better balancing. The imbalances and shortages that arise now and then in some sector of the national economy cause considerable economic damage and complicate the efforts towards higher efficiency and quality. To assure the proper balance of the economy we must secure a higher standard of scientific grounding of plans and make broader use of target-oriented programming and balance methods of planning, of progressive rates for the use of resources.

Good balance depends in large measure on strict on-schedule fulfilment of the plan for production and delivery of the required range of goods by each amalgamation and enterprise, and each sector. This should be facilitated by gearing assessment of the performance of enterprises to their fulfilment of contractual obligations the responsibility of economic executives for strict discipline in fulfilling plans and contracts will be heightened.

There is another fairly large reserve for eliminating or at least reducing shortages of some resources. This is correct management of productive stocks. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that many enterprises hoard stocks of equipment, raw and other materials, especially metal, in excess of quotas, while others experience shortages. Speakers at this congress and congresses of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, at election conferences, and the press justly criticised shortcomings in material and technical supplies. The activity of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and its territorial agencies must be improved; they must play a bigger role and bear more responsibility for the manoeuvring and rational use of material resources. We must not treat the Committee's warehouses in the economic regions as simple storages. They must

prepare and sort out materials, and supply them promptly to consumers, and this in complete sets and the required assortment.

As we reinforce planned management of the economy, it is also essential to continue developing economic accounting on the basis of the Five-Year Plan assignments and long-term economic standards, to improve price setting, credit and financing, and to make broad use of the whole system of economic levers and incentives. We will go over in due course to new wholesale prices and tariffs. This will make them more effective in spurring scientific and technical progress, in updating and improving the quality of products, in promoting economical use of materials, and will make for normal economically self-sufficient operation of enterprises.

Among the problems it is high time to resolve is that of lowering the costs of production. We must restore its former significance to this indicator in raising the profitability of production and in assessing the performance of enterprises.

Improvement in the management mechanism calls insistently for deep-going change in the content, methods and style of activity, for remoulding the very psychology of managerial staffs. The economic executive must have a profound grasp of the scientific and technical fundamentals of production, its organisation and economics, and must be conversant in methods of securing a high productivity of labour and high quality of products; his professional competence must combine with a broad political and ideological outlook and cooperativeness. Never before have efficiency, far-sightedness, energy, perseverance, and socialist enterprise been so important for the executive as they are now. Many thousands of captains of industry raised by the Party can be held up as models of skilled management. To use the words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, they are true organisers, people with sober and practical minds. However, there are also executives who go out of their way to get lower plan targets and higher allocations of resources, to have the plan scaled down, referring to alleged circumstances beyond their control. That sort of enterprise we do not need. There have been legitimate references at this Congress to the need for raising the responsibility of the chiefs of Ministries, government departments, amalgamations and enterprises for the work entrusted to them and for its results, to the need for

resolutely opposing parochial and departmental tendencies, and for tightening control over the fulfilment of the directives of superior bodies and their own decisions.

Fulfilment of the assignments of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan—that is the criterion that will be used to assess the competence and political qualities of managers and managerial staffs, their ability to work innovatively and change over to intensified production and higher efficiency and quality. We are sure that they will live up to the trust of the Party and people.

Effective socialist management is inconceivable without reliance on the collective of personnel and without cultivating a truly businesslike attitude to production, a knowledge of economics, and without efficient performance of each and every employee. It calls for effective organisation and is incompatible with negligence or breaches of discipline. To put things in train everywhere, to call a bungler to order, and pull up the sections that have fallen behind—that too offers no small possibilities for improving production results.

Under present conditions, great economic and social significance attaches to the further involvement of industrial workers, collective farmers, and office workers in production management and to enhancing the role of the trade unions as the most massive organisation in settling all questions of production, work, everyday life and leisure of the working people. Now, at the beginning of a new Five-Year Plan period, it is essential to lend still greater scope to the socialist emulation movement, to the nationwide movements for the rational use of resources, for reducing various losses and waste, and unproductive expenditure, and for rooting out mismanagement and extravagance. Every hour of working time, every kilogram of raw material, every kilowatt-hour of power, and every rouble of investments must serve our common cause with maximum effectiveness. Party, government, trade union, and Komsomol organisations must give keen attention to the record of experience, especially in promoting the emulation drive in honour of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, sum up the achievements of front-ranking workers, and bring them to the knowledge of all. There is no doubt that the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period will be highlighted by new achievements of our heroic working class, collective farmers, and the people's intelligentsia.

The great cause of building communism and safeguarding peace, of improving the life of the Soviet people, has been well served by the ten past Five-Year Plans. Our new, Eleventh Five-Year Plan, is also focused on these aims.

The draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981–1985 and for the period ending 1990, submitted to this Congress express the vital national interests and defines the requisites for further all-round progress of Soviet society.

Construction and peace, those two indissolubly linked concepts close and dear to all working people, epitomise the essence of our plans. In the present complicated international situation where the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression have become more active, the Soviet Union, as Comrade Brezhnev has stressed, will do everything to safeguard and consolidate peace, avert another world war, and dependably protect the peaceful constructive labour of the Soviet people. We will continue to devote unrelenting attention to strengthening the country's defences. We may rest assured that our valorous Armed Forces will have everything they need to counter any attempt of the imperialist forces to gain military superiority.

The Party and people take pride in their great accomplishments and confidently look to the future.

Before us is strenuous, creative work in the name of communism and peace.

The great Lenin said that to perform a huge constructive job one must "display sufficient class consciousness, devotion to principle, self-sacrifice and perseverance."

The entire heroic path of revolutionary struggle, of building the new society has shown that these remarkable qualities are embodied in the Leninist Party in the Soviet people, a nation of hard workers, fighters, and builders.

The living creativity of the masses, inspired by the great ideals of communism and guided and organised by the Party—is a dependable guarantee that the historic decisions of this 26th Congress of the CPSU will be successfully carried into effect.

Long live the indestructible unity of the Party and people!

Long live the Soviet people!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

To Make Fuller Use of Production Reserves

Excerpt from a speech at the scientific and technical conference at the Southern Tube Plant of Nikopol, 5th March 1949

THE purpose of this conference, as well as of all our activities in the coming period, is a search for dormant reserves, which may secure a further enhancement of labour efficiency. The report, just as the discussions in the commissions and sections, has brought to light many additional potentialities both in the tube rolling and the tube drawing departments for increasing the productivity and improving the profit performance of the plant, as well as for reducing its floating assets and accelerating thereby their turnover.

The main guidelines to be pursued to increase production at the tube rolling department are as follows: to reduce mill idle time, to step up rolling speed during hot working time, to select correctly the weights of blanks. Latent reserves in this area of work have been revealed in the course of analysis carried out by personnel of the Scientific Tube Research Institute.

When implementing measures to reduce idle periods and speed up the rolling rate during hot working time, we are bound to encounter quite a few bottlenecks (in addition to purely technical problems), which the plant personnel will have to overcome. Among such bottlenecks will be the throughout capacity of the "Abrahamson" straightening machine (we have no second machine of this kind yet), the unavailability of some motors in reserve, and the great wear and tear of machine parts. In view of that it will be necessary to prepare thoroughly for assembly repairs and always have a reserve of spare assemblies and parts to cut down repair time.

We are now too slow in building up a normal stock of spare parts indispensable for repairs. Another fact to be reckoned with is that with higher productivity, machine parts will wear away much faster. It is necessary, therefore, not only to manufacture additional spare parts but also to increase their wear resistance. Our engineers are so far making slow progress in this direction. Stoppages and breakdowns in the departments should not be tolerated. An analysis of their causes has shown that the discipline of the middle echelon of engineers and technicians and operatives of the leading trades is not yet always up to the mark at our plant.

In the tube drawing department, additional reserves and capacities are invariably found and brought into play to cope with every new assignment for mastering production of tubes of various kinds from new grades of steel and of new sizes. The tube drawing departments are manned by competent rollers with a long record of experience, who are capable of mastering production of new types of tubes relatively quickly and efficiently.

Now the plant personnel are faced with the great task of manufacturing along with rust-proof tubes a large quantity of ball-bearing and marine tubes. This involves the need to learn the process of drawing marine and rust-proof tubes on tube drawing machines, to analyse the conditions of rolling ball-bearing tubes on cold rolling mills.

The electrical shop personnel, jointly with that of the Capital Construction Department, should urgently assemble on the shop floor a high-powered electrical heating installation for tempering rust-proof tubes.

The personnel of the Capital Construction Department should speed up reconstruction of the shop, its furnace facilities, the installation of tube drawing machines, and other equipment, while the shop management should attend to this task with greater tenacity than heretofore.

Much work has been done in the tube rolling department to reduce the amount of unfinished production, which is bound to step up the turnover of assets considerably.

Advancement of the plant is inconceivable without making serious progress in every field of our industrial work. In addition to stimulat-

ing the creativity of plant personnel, the active work of the central plant laboratory and inventors, as well as engineers, technicians, and front-ranking workers, it is mandatory to rely more broadly on the assistance of research workers at the institutes of our city of Dnepropetrovsk. It would be relevant to recall the benefit we derived from that in 1948 alone.

Workers of the Tube Research Institute have rendered the plant great assistance in solving such important and difficult problems as mastering production of bearings and bimetallic tubes, analysing the effect of the chemical composition, as well as the strength of broaching mandrels and mandrels for automatic mills, learning the operation of the 'Great Stiffel' mill, manufacturing rust-proof tubes, searching for the best lubricant to be used in tube drawing, etc.

Production, however, confronts us with an ever wider range of problems. What we have mastered has only set the stage for further progress. It is necessary to carry out this year, jointly with the Scientific Tube Research Institute, further research on the 'Great Stiffel' mill, to learn the operation of the 'Small Stiffel' circular furnace and the mill itself, to prolong the service life and reduce the cost of rolling and drawing tools, to take measures against the loss of metal in furnaces, to do some work on lubricants and particularly on substitutes for lead coating.

I am not discussing the work involved in mastering production of a series of new tube types. We need assistance in developing more economical processes of manufacturing ball-bearing tubes, in doing research on metal used in making drill pipes, and in other fields. There is need for wider employment of experts of the Metallurgical Institute on ball-bearings, safeguarding devices, and so forth. We cannot afford to waste time and money on the conduct of research and experiments by less competent specialists. It is necessary always to be well informed of the progress being made at all tube plants and to pick up innovative ideas in good time. Unlike what they have under the capitalist system, there are no competing firms in this country. We ought to encourage on our own initiative broader involvement of our own specialists in research work, to hold fruitful and businesslike conferences on serious matters, to discuss and resolve important technical problems there rather than reduce all our economic work to

daily briefing or general technical conferences with a host of organisational problems on the agenda. We are to ensure sustained advancement of all production, which requires broad application of modern know-how and scientific knowledge and hence implies the need to work on a more advanced scientific and technological level.

To make our plant a front-ranking enterprise we need not only to boost production but also to cope with all assignments of the Party and Government and orders for tubes from any grade of steel. This makes it necessary to advance considerably the technical competence and efficiency of the plant personnel. We are doubtless adequately qualified to cope with this task.

Winds of Innovation

Excerpt from an article in *Zorya* (Dawn),
the regional newspaper of the city of
Dnepropetrovsk, 6th November 1949

THE thirty-second anniversary of the October Revolution comes in a year with a distinctive style all its own. Speaking of this style we have in mind the Muscovites' appeal for stepping up the rate of turnover of productive assets, Alexander Chutkikh's initiative in manufacturing only top-quality products, the co-operation of scientists with industry initiated in the city of Leningrad, and the emulation drive for the fulfilment of production quotas by all workers started in the city of Kharkov.

The style of the thirty-second year of the October Revolution means the nationwide drive for high production efficiency proposed by Vladimir Voroshin of Moscow, the movement for thorough mastering of new technology and for high-speed work methods initiated by Peter Grebennikov and Pavel Kochetkov of Dneprodzerzhinsk, the hourly work schedule which was simultaneously proposed at the steel works of Stalingrad and Dnepropetrovsk and later found excellent application in agriculture.

The gladdening changes originated last year at our Southern Tube Plant are visible at every step. There are many followers of Alexander Chutkikh, Vladimir Voroshin, and Kharkov's machine-builders in every plant department.

Our plant has initiated the regional socialist emulation drive in commemoration of the thirty-second anniversary of the October Revolution and the tenth anniversary of the Ukrainian people's reunification within the United Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The Tube Plant workers have all this time been in the limelight, as it were,

drawing the attention of all steel-makers, miners, machine-builders, and railwaymen of the Dnepropetrovsk region. This means that slipshod work is unpardonable, that one must attend to his task as best he can. This conclusion has been made by every worker, every foreman, every engineer. As a result, on 25th October we were in a position to report the fulfilment of the ten-month increased production programme and a 60 per cent increment in tube manufacture over the same period of last year. That was a short report, but how much labour effort and heroic day-to-day work it concentrated in itself! Indeed, this was not a simple case of production growth but a breakthrough towards new heights of technological progress: the increment in tube output had been achieved with the same capacities that were available a year ago.

How did we do it? We have learned to make the most of available technology. Now we are keeping count of every minute and every second. What our thorough mastering of new technology has given us is illustrated by the productivity of the 'Great Stiffel' mill, which is far greater than anything provided for in the technical estimates.

The story of this achievement is a detailed account of wide-ranging research on time expenditure, of numerous schedules, which helped to dispose of bottlenecks, cut down the length of individual operations, step up the rate of performance of the mill and individual assemblies. We studied the methods of work used by front-ranking Stakhanovites to find out which elements of operations take the least time, and taught all to follow their example. The time of rolling 6-inch tubes has been reduced by 3 seconds from last year. It would seem that 1 second means nothing compared with a year. Our engineers Sobolev and Magin, relying on the support of the whole work force, took a different view of this matter. They calculated that each second saved means an additional kilogram of tubes. Now they are close to implementing the second part of their assignment: to save another 3 seconds in the manufacturing process.

The past year introduced new notions of good plant performance. Growing importance is attached to the economic indicators. The country expects, quite reasonably, every factory and plant to operate efficiently with the least possible floating assets and to manufacture goods at the least unit costs.

I have on my desk the plant balance sheet for the last nine months. It contains neat columns of figures. Only a year or two ago they worried the chief accountant. Now they are a matter of concern to shop superintendents, rollers, foremen, and turners. What do these figures show? The plant has realised 47,186,000 roubles as net profit. Sales of surplus goods and materials have netted 11,693,000 roubles, and warehouse stocks have been reduced by 3,013,000 roubles over and above plan. The turnover of assets has been greatly accelerated. There are quite a few other figures which gladden the eye, because they reflect the inspired constructive work of the plant personnel.

Tubes made at Nikopol are supplied to all parts of the country. They are used at oil-fields, for gas pipelines, and at locomotive plants. We want tubes bearing the trademark of our plant to enjoy the best reputation. Therefore, as soon as the news of Alexander Chutkikh's initiative reached our plant, quite a few of its workers pledged to follow suit. Stiff competition began for the title of top-quality work team. In September this title was awarded to the team led by foreman S. T. Prokurat. However, he has many rivals, who are close on his heels, determined to gain the lead.

Nikopol's tube makers, like all Soviet citizens, know full well that this very idea of socialist competition rules out sloppy work, botchiness, and neglect of product quality. Alexander Chutkikh has appealed for an emulation drive to produce only top-quality goods. Maria Rozhneva and Lidia Kononenko have added to it a call for strict economy of raw materials. Their initiative is a great labour exploit. However, Chutkikh, Rozhneva and Kononenko, as well as hundreds of patriots like them, are hardly motivated by their personal ambitions. They are concerned for the interests of the country, and this concern is stronger than any other motive.

The country's interests were also uppermost in the minds of the scientists of the heroic city of Leningrad when they came forward with their proposal to strengthen in every way the link between advanced Soviet science and production. Any visitor to our plant can see the rich fruits of this remarkable idea. Scientists of the Dnepropetrovsk Institute of Metallurgy, the Scientific Tube Research Institute, the Central Scientific Research Institute of Heavy Machine-Building, the Dnepropetrovsk subsidiary of the Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy,

are often to be seen on the plant premises. They come here by no means as 'guests of honour'. They work side by side with plant personnel, introducing new technology and advanced manufacturing processes and solve the problems involved in cutting material and labour inputs. When the results of multiple drawing of cold-rolled tubes are discussed in the tube drawing department, academician Chekmarev's contributions to this process are never forgotten, while Doctor of Technology Chukmasov is thankfully remembered for his novel design of bearings used in the automatic mill.

In the thousands-strong body of Nikopol tube makers there is not one worker failing to cope with his output quota today. Among the factors which have contributed to this achievement are the Stakhanovite schools, the assimilation of advanced know-how, and the improvement of manufacturing processes. This is a hard-won success. The splendid record of scores of tube makers who had fulfilled five to ten annual quotas since the beginning of the new Five-Year Plan made us confident that our plant would soon become a Stakhanovite enterprise. Indeed, we were aware that of the front-ranking workers who had fulfilled their quotas in advance over a few successive years including 1959, for instance, the turners S. I. Zakharenko and I. P. Pauk were doing their level best to encourage their workmates to emulate them.

Labour heroes are held in high esteem in the Soviet Union. In this country, where diligent work is a matter of honour, respect for those who have distinguished themselves in this field is shown at every step, both in large and small matters. A Nikopol tube maker who has kept the title of the best worker in his trade for three months at a stretch is entitled to have his name displayed on the plant's Plaque of Honour.

The gratifying changes that have taken place at our enterprise during the last year cannot be expressed in output figures alone. There are no figures to describe a change in the plant's image. The competition for high production efficiency, started in response to the appeal of Vladimir Voroshin of Moscow, has yielded remarkable results. During a review held on the initiative of the front-ranking Stakhanovites, about 1500 proposals were submitted with a view to improving the standards of work performance.

Whoever comes to the tube rolling department will not dare drop a cigarette end on the floor—everything is spick and span here. There are no longer dust heaps, which were a habitual sight in the past. All refuse is collected and carried away on a special platform. No foreman will take over a shift while there is a machine-tool not properly cleaned up or odds and ends left at some place. This has become a matter of course. True, this routine was not established overnight, because not all executives realised immediately the importance of production culture.

Speaking of genuine production culture, we have in mind, of course, not only the scores of thousands of square metres of asphalted ground but also thousands of newly-planted trees and shrubs and numerous flower-beds laid out. Production culture also implies strictly scheduled work, the mechanisation of labour-intensive processes, and a rational lay-out of plant and equipment.

Production culture is inseparably linked with the cultural habits of everyday life, with the steady advancement of the working people's general cultural standards. The plant manager has many new cares. Now he has to concern himself not only with a timely delivery of blanks to the plant departments and the fulfilment of the daily output quotas, but also with progress in preparations for an amateur art Olympiad and the maintenance of the plant stadium. The old notions of Nikopol as a merchant town have sunk into oblivion. The workers' settlement of the Southern Tube Plant on the outskirts of the city differs but little from any large cultural centre. In recent times the plant has acquired excellent winter and summer theatres, a recreation park, a well-appointed stadium, a children's playground, and a Young Pioneer camp. The company of the Gorky Theatre of Dnepropetrovsk, the Black Sea and the Donets Song and Dance companies, and musicians of the Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozhe have given guest performances at the theatres of the plant workers' settlement. About 3000 tube makers take part in amateur art activities.

Creditable achievements were made last year. The tube makers of Nikopol, however, do not rest on their laurels. We are standing on the threshold of the year 1950, which is bound to make more stringent demands on us. We will have to make vigorous efforts to cope with our increased quantitative and qualitative targets. The plant

personnel are strongly determined to overcome these difficulties and are drawing up a detailed plan of organisational and technical measures to this effect.

The Muscovites' new initiative in making more effective use of fixed industrial assets is opening up new prospects for more complete utilisation of production reserves.

We have lived through an unforgettable year. The country has taken another step towards communism. The Soviet people know that they owe their epoch-making achievements to the Bolshevik Party.

The Party's Concern for Technological Progress

Excerpt from the pamphlet *The Party's Concern for Technological Progress*, Dnepropetrovsk Book Publishers, 1959

EVERY day brings glad news of the Soviet people's production achievements. The commissioning of Europe's biggest slabbing mill has been reported from the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel complex. The sixth generating set in succession has been put into operation at the Stalin-grad Hydroelectric Power Plant a year ahead of time. Construction has been started in the Mordovian Autonomous Republic of a giant chemical equipment plant, the first-born of a large-scale chemical industry. A new clothes factory has started producing in the Donets basin. The 'Dnepropetrovsk Komsomol' blast furnace has been commissioned ahead of schedule at the Petrovsky Plant of Dnepropetrovsk. A large ore-dressing complex has been put into commission at Krivoy Rog.

Admirable reports are coming in from coal mines, oil-fields and collective farms.

The Soviet people's outstanding achievements are made evident to the whole world by such historic accomplishments of today as the flight of a Soviet space rocket to the Moon, the maiden voyage of the world's first atom-powered ice-breaker *Lenin*, and the launching of a third space rocket carrying an automatic interplanetary station aboard.

Each of these reports echoes the triumphant march of the Seven-Year Plan and illustrates the remarkable fruits of the gigantic creative efforts of millions of Soviet people fulfilling the Party's historic plans.

Outlining the breathtaking programme of Communist construction in this country, the 21st Congress of the CPSU stated that "the

decisive condition for fulfilling successfully the Seven-Year Plan and building up the material and technological basis for Communism is broad introduction of new technology, comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes, specialisation and co-operation in all sectors of the national economy."¹

In recent times the collectives of the industrial enterprises and construction projects of our economic area, just as all working people of the country, have done much to accelerate technological progress. The miners of the Krivoy Rog basin have achieved the world's highest intensity of underground operations, which is roughly twice that at similar mines in the United States. This has been made possible by implementing a number of bold and original technical solutions offered by Soviet engineers.

One of the most important measures securing improvements in the operation of ore mines has been a considerable increase in the range of technological facilities. In recent years the mines of the Krivoy Rog basin have been supplied with a number of highly efficient machines and perforating mechanisms, drilling rigs, scraper winches, and electric locomotives. This has made it possible to mechanise completely the main production processes in drilling, delivery, haulage and loading of ore into railway wagons.

An appreciable increment of output has been yielded by the introduction of new progressive systems of working ore deposits.

In the field of metal production an increment in output with the equipment available has been obtained mostly by further improving the existing and introducing new, more advanced process charts. Oxygen and natural gas are being applied in blast furnace and steel-making processes on an ever wider scale. Our steelmakers for the first time in the Soviet Union have introduced and mastered the process of manufacturing Bessemer iron by oxygen blowing from the top downwards. Intensive work is under way to master production of economical sections of rolled stock. The collective of Nikopol's Yuzhnotrubby Tube Plant, in collaboration with personnel of the Scientific Tube Research Institute, have introduced a full range of

¹ *Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1972, vol. 7, p. 382.

technological processes of manufacturing very thin-walled and electrically polished tubes. A number of fundamentally new processes have been worked out and introduced for this purpose.

Among the large-scale projects of great economic significance implemented in the tube industry the new process of manufacturing seamless tubes holds a conspicuous place.

Many similar large technological innovations and improvements have been introduced in machine building, at chemical, light and food industry enterprises, and in the construction industry.

A good deal of work has been carried out to mechanise and automate productive processes. Suffice it to say, for instance, that the metallurgical plants of the economic area smelt over 90 per cent of their iron and steel output in mechanised blast and open-hearth furnaces provided with a number of automatic control and regulation devices.

The broad application of industrial methods has enabled our building workers to complete ahead of schedule the construction of the Novo-Krivorozhsky mining and dressing complex, large-capacity blast furnaces, rolling mills, and other large industrial projects.

However, the rates of mechanisation and automation of production fell short of the tasks set by the Party. As a rule, our plants were solving the problems of automation of individual assemblies or elements and were extremely slow in working on all-round automation of complete units and installations and in establishing fully automated shops and enterprises.

Another lagging sector in the field of mechanisation and automation of industrial processes is auxiliary facilities, repair and cargo-handling operations at enterprises and construction sites.

In keeping with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the collectives of enterprises and building projects of the economic area acting in collaboration with scientists and designers have outlined a wide programme of work in the field of mechanisation and automation of productive processes.

Already in the first year of the Seven-Year Plan the level of mechanisation in the haulage of iron and manganese ore in underground workings has been raised appreciably in the ore-mining industry. A number of water drainage installations, compressor

stations, and ventilators have been automated, and a dispatcher-controlled route switching and signalling system is being introduced at some mining levels.

The labour collective of the 'Communist' plant of Krivoy Rog jointly with workers of the 'Giprorudmash' ore-mining machine design institute and other organisations of the Economic Council have prepared for serial production a number of new, more economical and efficient drilling machines.

Metallurgists have drawn up plans to put into service new mechanised and extensively automated superpowerful blast furnaces.

The experience accumulated by front-ranking factories, plants, and mines will be used as the basis for all our work in establishing fully mechanised and automated enterprises not only in the fields of metal production and ore mining but also in the engineering and food industries.

These are breathtaking and inspiring tasks indeed! They are opening up before our scientists, designers, and workers in industry a boundless field for activity, wonderful opportunities for creative quests and bold innovation. The experience of front-ranking plants proves again and again that success in mechanisation and automation of productive processes is achieved primarily where economic, Party, and trade union executives, the entire work force of the enterprise, show constant concern for the introduction of advanced technology. Our scientists, designers, and workers in industry ought to work systematically on the problems involved in renewal and modernisation of equipment.

The introduction of new and the improvement of existing technological processes are of enormous importance for the continued more intensive utilisation of equipment and for raising labour efficiency. In the coming few years the scale of work being carried on in this direction will be greatly widened. The Krivoy Rog basin will steeply increase ore extraction by the progressive open-cast mining method, which makes it possible to apply advanced technology and to ease considerably the work of the miners.

In the iron-and-steel industry the continued broad application of oxygen and natural gas opens up particularly great prospects. Big advantages are promised by a further expansion of converter iron

production by oxygen blowing from the top downwards. The output of lightweight, periodical, and bent sections of rolled stock will be largely increased.

Our chemists are working persistently to put up the production of raw materials used in manufacturing plastics and other synthetic materials. New technological processes are being introduced to secure more effective extraction of products of the coking process and better utilisation of coke gas for purposes of chemical synthesis. Coal-tar processing capacities are being enlarged.

The stubborn daily efforts of all of our scientists, designers, engineers and workers to advance technology and make the most of the productive potential is the key prerequisite for continued technological progress.

The labour collectives of iron-and-steel plants and building projects of the Dnepropetrovsk region have launched a socialist emulation drive for making full use of dormant production reserves, for the introduction of new technology and advanced know-how, for the mechanisation and automation of productive processes and have taken a pledge to attain ahead of schedule and without additional investments as early as 1963 the targets for iron, steel, rolled stock and coke output set for 1965.

To encourage lagging enterprises to gain on those showing the best performance, to secure the fulfilment of the commitments adopted by the collectives of all shops and sections and every work team, is the prime task facing the management of economic bodies, enterprises, and building projects.

We Are Not Committed to Bad Traditions

Pravda, 23rd August 1959

Now that a persistent drive is in progress to carry into effect the resolutions of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee of June 1959, we are coming to realise again and again the great opportunities opening up before every enterprise and every economic area. Many economic problems which have for years remained unresolved have now appeared in a new light.

One of these 'eternal' problems was of organising the work of the repair and auxiliary services of enterprises. It has been estimated, for instance, that about 1000 million roubles will be spent during this year alone to maintain in working condition the main productive facilities of the iron-and-steel and ore mining industries of the Dnepropetrovsk region. With the existing organisation of work, this expenditure will have grown almost 50 per cent towards the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

There is a bad tradition to regard the repair and auxiliary services of enterprises as being of secondary importance. Repair work is performed, as a rule, with technologically backward facilities at the cost of unwarrantably large labour inputs.

Here are some statistics for eight metallurgical plants. Twenty-eight per cent of their total work force are engaged in repairing equipment and preparing spare parts, 35 per cent are working in transport, power and other auxiliary services, and only 37 per cent are employed directly on production jobs.

This deployment of manpower results in considerably lower shop and overall plant indices of labour productivity and higher production costs.

Can this problem be resolved by a simple reduction in the numbers of repair and maintenance personnel?

No. With the present organisation of work it cannot.

The management of any metallurgical plant will prove, with figures to support their arguments, that manpower shortage is precisely the reason for the delays in equipment repairs and the shortfalls of hundreds and thousands of tons of metal.

Not infrequently this is truly so. A few days ago there was talk in the wheel-rolling shop of the Karl Liebknecht plant about the need to cut repair time on an installation by at least 4-5 days. This, however, proved impossible because of a shortage of maintenance personnel.

A total of over 2000 electric motors are awaiting repairs at metallurgical plants. Manpower shortage is again referred to as the main cause of the delay.

Is this true? A closer look at the matter makes it clear that the real cause is different: it is a dispersion of repair manpower and poor organisation of work. Plant repair teams are put to work, as a rule, extremely irregularly. At most plants repair work is done by the crude rule-of-thumb methods without applying continuous flow technology and modern high-strength materials, and without the required testing of newly-made parts and assemblies.

What is the way out of this situation? It is suggested by our experience in setting up specialised organisations, such as the 'Yuzhdomnaremont' blast furnace repair trust. Specialisation of operations, introduction of advanced technological processes, and more efficient equipment have enabled the trust to cut repair time on installations and improve the quality of work year after year.

In May of this year the capital repairs of a blast furnace at the Petrovsky Plant were completed four days ahead of schedule. Repair time on a blast furnace at the Dzerzhinsky Plant has been cut almost by half. As a result, the steel-makers have gained almost ten days. Eight days were saved on the repairs of another blast furnace.

Small wonder, therefore, that the steel-makers have been able to produce additionally many thousand tons of metal and to save considerable resources. According to estimates, a mere 1 per cent reduction in spending on the repair and maintenance of the main produc-

tive facilities and replaceable plant in the iron-and-steel industry will save about 120 million roubles in 1965 alone.

After an analysis of the state of affairs in all repair shops of metallurgical plants, we have concluded that it would be rational to establish in our economic area an integrated specialised repair trust with ramified departments at large metallurgical plants. Each of such departments would concentrate the facilities of individual shops and sections and have mobile specialised teams of assemblyman, bricklayers, and fitters capable of providing efficient services to their own and, whenever necessary, to neighbouring enterprises. It has been decided to set up in the near future centralised stations for the repair of bridge cranes, metal-working machines, railway wagons, electric motors, pumps, ventilators, automation facilities, and other equipment.

We have made provision for amalgamating small shops and sections and drawn up measures for the most rational siting of equipment and more effective use of materials and spare parts. A team of designers has been instructed to revise the earlier projects of building repair shops at metallurgical plants. As proved by experience, it would be rational to cancel plans to build a number of shops and to invest the funds released in the construction of large repair bases, which would yield a far better effect.

In our opinion, it would be wise to draw up similar plans of organising repair facilities in other large economic areas as well. That would enable the State Planning Committee to determine where it is best to locate inter-area specialised equipment repair plants.

Success in organising repair operations largely depends on efficient supply of enterprises with spare parts and replaceable plant. There is no good order in this field yet. The demand for spare parts and replaceable plant is met mainly by repair shops rather than specialised engineering factories. Products of these shops are often below standard and very costly.

In our view there is need for broader involvement of specialised engineering factories in the production of spare parts and in the work of repairing equipment of their own manufacture. The supplier plant must guarantee for a specified period the trouble-free operation of its machines and secure their normal maintenance.

The advantages of guarantee service are strikingly illustrated by the experience of the Communist Engineering Plant in our economic area, which manufactures hammer drills for use in mines of the Krivoy Rog iron-ore basin. The plant guarantees the trouble-free operation of its drills during one year and, whenever necessary, replaces quick-wearing parts, whose service life is specified in advance. Upon expiry of the warranty term, the cleaning and current repairs of drills are carried out by guarantee workshops on a contractual basis.

Having set up direct contacts with the users of its products, the plant's collective took vigorous steps to improve their quality. About 100 improvements were made in the design of drills and in the manufacturing process, mostly to prolong their service life and cut production costs.

Although the stock of hammer drills at the mines of the Krivoy Rog basin has been greatly increased, the total staff of repair personnel employed in their maintenance has been reduced by more than one half as a result of the switchover to a guarantee service system.

We have resolved to extend the valuable experience of the Communist Plant to other engineering factories manufacturing wood-working machines, beet-harvesting combines, hydraulic presses, and tower cranes. These machines will be supplied with a guarantee certificate. It is necessary that the State Planning Committee should explore the possibilities for increasing the output of spare parts and introducing a guarantee system of maintenance at engineering plants in other economic areas. This measure will help advance the quality of machines they manufacture and save a great deal of government funds.

A number of other urgent problems have also been put on the agenda. In particular, is highly important to solve the problem of speedy mechanisation of repair operations, of building specialised tower cranes, bulldozers and other machines facilitating arduous manual labour.

The problem of training skilled repair personnel has assumed high priority. Workers of scientific research and educational institutions have so far done very little for continued improvement of repair facilities.

The rapidly advancing industry of this country is being equipped with steadily growing numbers of machines and mechanisms and a

variety of sophisticated equipment. In this situation the lag in repair facilities should no longer be tolerated. It is mandatory to advance them to the level of the high targets set before the workers of industry.

The Foundation of Modern Industry

An article in the *Economic Gazette*, 14th August 1961

THE Soviet Union has first-rate heavy industry, the basis for its technological progress and industrial might.

While electrification is regarded as the pivot of building up the economy of Communist society, metal and fuel can in all fairness be described as the foundation of modern industry. The Party regards continued rapid expansion of their production as one of the key economic tasks.

This country has all that is needed to accomplish successfully the tasks formulated by the Party—a wealth of raw materials and energy resources first and foremost.

The production of metal will meet to an ever fuller extent the growing demands of the national economy. As a result, it will be possible to implement on a wide scale modernisation and replacement of obsolescent basic productive facilities in industry.

The growth rates of the production of hot rolled stock will be faster than those of steel. This will result from cutting the spending of ingots for rolled stock by introducing continuous steel casting and other improvements. The accelerated expansion of the production of steel tubes will make it possible to widen their applications in metal structures and engineering, thereby reducing the demand for rolled stock. A lot of ferrous metal will be saved by expanding the specialised production of hardware.

To eliminate the shortage of ferrous metals in the national economy it is necessary to secure accelerated growth rates of their production in the remaining years of the Seven-Year Plan and in the subsequent period.

It should be emphasised that it is important not only to achieve a general increment in the country's total output of metal but also to expand its production in definitive economic areas in view of the need for a rational distribution of industry. In the coming few years, industry will be advanced rapidly in the areas east of the Urals, which have rich materials and energy resources. The share of Siberia in the total national production of steel will be increased considerably. It is also planned to augment the share of the Central Black Earth Region, where the ore deposits of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area are concentrated.

Quantity Plus Quality

The quality of metal is to be improved considerably along with increasing its output. A reduction in the specific quotas for metal consumption in industry can and must be achieved by widening the assortment of rolled stock, mastering production of economical shaped sections, bent sheet steel sections, periodical pattern sections, and tubes. A great effect will be produced by replacing part of commercial quality steel in welded structures of sheets and tubes, hot rolled sheet metal with cold rolled one, wire rod with wire, etc.

With greater accuracy of rolled stock shaping and a reduction in margin tolerance, as well as with production of steel without a decarburised layer, machine structures can be made lighter in weight and much less metal is lost in shavings.

Large savings will accrue to consumers as a result of improving the strength characteristics of metal, and expanding production of alloy and low-alloy steel. For the same purpose it is necessary to introduce on a wide scale heat treatment of steel and advanced processes of its manufacture.

Improvement of the strength characteristics of metal will secure up to 15 per cent of the savings achieved by its users.

Now the margin of safety envisaged in designs of structures and parts is usually much greater than would be required with uniform quality characteristics of metal. Steel-makers must ensure a high uniformity of metal. This in turn would enable designers to provide for a far smaller margin of safety, thereby reducing substantially the consumption of metal.

Today about 20 per cent of 'amortisation' metal is eaten away by atmospheric corrosion. It is mandatory, therefore, to organise production of large quantities of metal with protective coatings of lacquer, paint, plastic, zinc, etc. This will reduce metal corrosion.

According to estimates, an improvement in the quality and assortment of metal can save a total of 30–40 per cent of rolled stock in the national economy.

Effective Use of Investment

The tasks in advancing the iron-and-steel industry are truly breathtaking. But how are they to be accomplished?

'The Party', the draft Party Programme says, "attaches first priority to advancing the effectiveness of capital investments, to selecting the most advantageous and economical directions of capital construction work, to securing everywhere the greatest possible increment in production per rouble of investment, to cutting the time of repayment of these investments."

This fully applies to the iron-and-steel industry. First of all, it is planned to obtain the bulk of the increment in production—over 50 per cent at any rate—by means of a radical reconstruction and expansion of existing metallurgical plants and building the second stages of such plants as those of Krivoy Rog, Azovstal, Novotulsky, Nizhni Tagil, and Cherepovets. It is contemplated to complete the construction of and considerably expand the Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, and Orsko-Khalilovsky complexes, the Chelyabinsk, Ilyich, Alchevsky, Uzbek, and Amurstal plants. Much work is to be done to secure the all-round mechanisation of labour-intensive processes at metallurgical plants, ore mines, and other enterprises, as well as the automation of technological process control. Electronic computers are to be introduced on a wide scale.

The reconstruction of operating metallurgical plants is to be completed towards 1970. Over the same period, it is necessary to build and commission in two stages the Western Siberian, Karaganda, and Novolipetsk plants. In the years following the Seven-Year Plan a number of new large metallurgical complexes will be built. They are to be located with a view to bringing the areas of metal production as

close as possible to the raw materials and fuel sources, as well as to the areas of metal consumption. The new plants will be producing a few million tons of steel a year.

The second stages of enterprises and new metallurgical plants are to be built by technological blocks, taking account of the latest advances in science and engineering. The construction of a plant will be preceded by setting up on its site a powerful building organisation and appropriate industrial facilities. Under this scheme the first technological block is to be built in 4–5 years, and the subsequent ones in 2–3 years.

Continuous steel-casting facilities will be provided at the new plants in place of roughing mills. They will make possible a substantial reduction in the spending of steel per ton of rolled stock and improve the working conditions of shop operatives.

In the long term it is planned to build metallurgical plants with installations for iron recovery directly from ore, bypassing the blast furnace process; to manufacture steel in continuous-action installations, in which different stages of iron refining will be effected consecutively in a single continuous technological process.

The Metallurgical Plant of the Future

What do we visualise of the metallurgical works that will be built in the latter half of the next twenty years?

The blast furnaces of this plant will use monomixture smelting charge separated into fractions with partially restored iron. Oxygen and converted natural gas will be used on a wide scale. Oxygen will be blown into the blast furnace hearth for partial or complete iron refining. The technological process, the blowing regime and the amount of oxygen supplied to the blast furnace will allow production of top gas that can be used for ammonia synthesis in the chemical industry.

Iron or semifabricated product will be delivered into steel-smelting units operating on the continuous-action principle. During this process the steel will be vacuum-treated, slag-treated, etc. As a result, very high quality steel will be produced, which can in certain cases

substitute for electric steel. Continuous steel-casting units will operate in conjunction with continuous-action rolling mills. The hot scarfing of metal will be effected in a flow, and its heat treatment will be conducted with high-frequency currents. At such plants complete mechanisation and automation of processes, including metal finishing operations, will be introduced.

A second variant of the plant may be visualised as follows. Its head part contains a unit for direct iron restoration from rich concentrates in combined installations producing molten steel. The physical heat of melting charge is used to reduce the specific expenditure of electric power. The further refining process—steel casting, rolling, and heat treatment—is effected just as in the first variant.

Regardless of whether the plant will have blast furnaces using monomixture or direct iron restoration units, there will be no coking department or agglomeration factory in either case. The continuous process is conducted with maximum mechanisation and automation of control.

New blast furnaces at plants in service and under construction will evidently have a capacity of 2400–2700 m³. Their equipment should be adapted for operation with gas pressure at the furnace top in the order of 2.5 atm and a blowing temperature off 1200°C.

Blast furnaces operating on thoroughly prepared melting charge at a high blowing temperature with the use of natural gas have a very large productivity: about 2 tons of iron will be obtained from each cubic metre of useful capacity. Coke consumption will be considerably reduced.

The expenditure of natural gas per ton of iron at plants possessing corresponding resources will be substantially increased. Blast furnaces should be supplied with fully prepared melting charge in the form of agglomerate or pellets. The average iron content of the iron-ore part of melting charge will be raised throughout the country. All products of blast furnace smelting, including slag will be used for manufacturing building and other materials rather than discarded as wastes.

Open-hearth furnaces to be built will have a capacity of 600, 700, and 900 tons, converting steel mills 100–150 and up to 300 tons, and electric furnaces 100, 200, and 300 tons.

The converter method of steel smelting with the use of oxygen will be developed at an accelerated rate with a concurrent increase in the output of electric steel and a substantial reduction in the proportion of open-hearth steel.

To meet the demand for special alloys and refined steel it is planned to build departments equipped with high-powered vacuum electric furnaces. Production of this steel by the electric slag remelting method will be developed considerably.

Important progress will be made in the technology of rolled stock production, where the continuous process principle is being introduced to a maximum degree. In this connection construction is being widened of continuous and semicontinuous specialised rolling mills with all round mechanisation and automation of all processes. The assortment of rolled stock will be improved. Sheet metal will account for up to 40 per cent of the total output of rolled stock. The output of sheet steel will exceed 50 per cent of the total output of sheet metal. The production of tin-plate, transformer and dynamo, galvanised steel will grow several times over. The total output of heat-strengthened rolled stock will run into millions of tons.

Later, rolled stock at new plants will be produced from cast slabs and blooms and the weight of sheet ingots brought up to 35–40 tons. The share of steel tubes in the total output of rolled stock will be increased. Production of electrically welded and welded tubes will be developed especially rapidly. All departments in operation and under construction are to be provided with facilities for heat treatment to improve tube quality.

The Tasks in Developing the Raw Materials Base

Now for the prospects of developing the raw materials base of the iron-and-steel industry. It is planned to boost the production of iron ore, as well as manganese and chromite ore and metallurgical fluxes.

In ore production the share of the Central Region (the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area), as well as Kazakhstan, Eastern Siberia and the Far East, will grow substantially. Large ore mines are to be built in the coming period. Mines with a capacity of over 10 million tons

will produce roughly 75–80 per cent of the total ore output. This growth of the number of large enterprises will yield a considerable economic effect.

Open-cast mining of iron ore deposits is to be given priority. About 80 per cent of all ore output will be used in blast furnace smelting only after enrichment, including deep enrichment. The switchover in the near future to new methods of drilling blast holes—thermal and rotary—will secure high techno-economic performance indices in open-cast mining. This will be combined with the most up-to-date techniques of opening ore deposits by means of conveyors and heap-piling scrapers.

Despite a reduction in the share of underground mining, in absolute terms it will grow substantially. To raise the technological standards of underground mining it is necessary to step up the speeds of sinking mine shafts and to change over from pneumatic to electric drilling. The increase in labour efficiency and the improvement in working conditions will be greatly stimulated by broad introduction of up-to-date drilling equipment, specialised loading machines and continuous transport, combines and the tunnel shield method of ore extraction in working horizontal ore deposits. Subsequently it will be necessary to change over to new highly productive systems of mining with a continuous ore flow based on the application of electrophysical methods of breaking rock combined with new designs of specialised machines and transport vehicles.

Future ore mines are designed to produce up to 30 million tons a year. All-round mechanisation and automation will be introduced there with the manning personnel reduced to a minimum.

Since natural gas combined with oxygen-enriched blow will be widely used in blast furnace processes, in the long run the consumption of coke per ton of iron will fall by 35–38 per cent. The development of the coke-and-chemical industry is characterised mainly by an increase in the productivity of coke furnace batteries by means of augmenting the capacity of furnaces and their number in a battery. A number of measures will be implemented to improve the quality of coke.

Coal industry workers are called upon to solve the problem of enrichment of all coals used for coking. The use of effective methods

of enrichment must bring about a reduction in the sulphur and ash content of coke.

To Secure a Substantial Increase in Labour Efficiency

The most up-to-date technological processes, the enlargement of assemblies and departments of enterprises, all-round mechanisation and automation, the rational organisation of production and work processes will provide favourable prerequisites for a substantial increment in labour efficiency. It is particularly important to improve the organisation of auxiliary operations.

Production of spare parts and elements of renewable equipment should be specialised and based on co-operation by means of building auxiliary engineering works and departments of district importance. Advanced casting, forging, stamping, machining and other processes should be introduced at these mechanical repair works. It is planned to implement intrafactory centralisation of repair operations, to establish specialised plants (trusts) for repairs of metallurgical equipment.

In the power departments it is contemplated to carry out complete mechanisation of auxiliary and automation of basic processes, technological re-equipment and modernisation of all facilities. As a result the personnel manning these departments can be reduced.

By increasing the share of intrafactory haulage performed with mechanised, motor and pipe transport facilities, which are the most economical ones, transportation by rail will be reduced by half. It is necessary to ensure all-round mechanisation of material handling operations, to apply modern means of automation and remote control on a broad scale, and to improve the organisation of transportation services. This will make it possible to reduce roughly by 75 per cent the number of workers employed in intrafactory haulage.

To Advance Scientific Research

Broad prospects of progress are opening up before the iron-and-steel industry. As regards the technological standards of production

the coming two decades may be conventionally divided into two periods. The first period will be distinguished by further improvement of existing manufacturing processes, enlargement of units of equipment and intensification of processes to a maximum.

In view of the tasks confronting the iron-and-steel industry great work is to be carried out by our scientific research and design institutes. Scientists are to come forward with designs of a mine of a new type, where ore is to be extracted without or with a minimum of manning personnel.

It is necessary to improve the existing methods of ore enrichment, in particular by magnetic separation and flotation in heavy media. Simultaneously new economical methods of enrichment using high-frequency currents and chemical processes should be developed. In devising enrichment techniques, close attention should be paid to the need for comprehensive utilisation of iron and other ores with a view to a maximum extraction of useful minerals.

Along with improving the existing coking processes the method of continuous coking of low-baking coal should be tested at enlarged semi-industrial installations and on an industrial scale in the immediate future.

The central problem facing scientists in the field of iron production is a search for ways and industrial testing of the most rational utilisation of natural gas and the degree of oxygenation of blast furnace air. There is need for broad research into the kinetics of the blast furnace processes, the laws governing the motion of gases and materials in modern furnaces.

In steel-smelting processes it is necessary to develop combined methods of iron blasting in converters with oxygen from the top downwards and with various slag-forming materials being injected into the oxygen stream. This will secure refining of iron smelted from ores of various deposits and production of improved quality steel. Since steel smelting in electrical furnaces will be widely introduced in the near future, the technological processes involved should be further perfected.

A wide range of problems are to be resolved by scientists and design organisations in view of the forthcoming broad introduction of continuous steel casting with the application of vacuum technology,

metal treatment with synthetic slags, etc. A good deal of research is to be carried out to find and introduce economical grades of steel and alloys, to develop and master the processes of manufacturing metal with specified properties, including those required in the new branches of technology.

A speedy and comprehensive solution to be found by our scientific research, design, and R&D organisations to the problems involved in perfecting existing technological processes will help Soviet steel-makers to achieve the world's highest technological indices.

Simultaneously, our scientists are to engage in intensive research and development work on new technological processes, as well as products and materials with strength characteristics radically superior to the present standards. This will provide a scientific reserve of its own kind in the field of metallurgical production technology. New technological processes must be based on the latest advances in physics, chemistry, physicochemistry, and mathematics and the achievements in industries related to metallurgy.

In particular, scientific and design organisations are to develop both the technological processes and the designs of industrial installations for direct iron recovery from ores based on various process charts. This implies not only the smelting of hard sponge iron, to be subsequently remelted in steel-smelting furnaces, but also direct production of molten steel from iron ore in a single integrated installation.

It is highly important to introduce the method of producing metallurgical coke from non-caking coal, which is now being worked out by our scientists. This will enable a radical change in the organisation of coal mining processes and simplify the technology of coke production.

Scientific research organisations and design institutes are already at work to develop a continuous-action steel-smelting unit. The technological processes within them will run their course in succession in the most favourable conditions for each of them. It is expected that in the near future our scientists, working jointly with engineers and personnel of design organisation and metallurgical plants, will develop and test under industrial conditions such a continuous-action unit with high technoeconomic performance characteristics.

The solution of the full range of problems involved in continuous production of molten steel by the technique of direct iron restoration or smelting steel from iron in continuous-action steel-smelting units followed up by casting in continuous-action installations and rolling on continuous-action mills will mean in effect the advent of a new type of metallurgical plant.

The task before scientists is to devise fundamentally new methods for a radical increase in the strength of steel and alloys.

These are just a few scientific problems to be resolved in the field of iron and steel production. There are many more problems related either directly to metallurgy or to the ore-mining industry and the sectors of the national economy linked with the iron-and-steel industry.

The draft Programme of the CPSU points out the need for advancing theoretical research. This applies in full measure to research in the science and art of metallurgy. Scientific research institutes should attach high priority to their work in this field.

It is necessary to improve coordination of scientific research and widen the network of research institutions mainly by reinforcing central plant laboratories and setting up research and development facilities under large metallurgical complexes.

Machine-builders are called upon to give effective assistance to the iron-and-steel industry. It is their duty to develop highly efficient plant automated to a maximum degree, such as metallurgical furnaces, vacuum equipment, and rolling mills, as well as mechanisms for tube-manufacturing and hardware shops.

The iron-and-steel industry, which is the leading sector of Soviet heavy industry, has a crucial role to play in the practical solution of the important task of building up the material and technological basis for Communism. Soviet steel-makers are determined to gain new spectacular successes in production and to advance to new frontiers of progress.

The Converter: an Innovation in Metallurgy

An article from *Pravda*, 18th April 1962

IN THE Soviet Union, just as in many other countries with a powerful iron-and-steel industry, about 85 per cent of all steel is produced in open-hearth furnaces. However, the fast development rates of this industry envisaged in the Programme of the CPSU can be attained only on the basis of a more advanced and economical steel-smelting process.

The oxygen-converter method, which Soviet scientists have effectively helped to develop, resolves with greater success many practical problems involved in securing a steep increment in steel output. The simpler design of the smelting unit and the less sophisticated technology involved facilitate and simplify the all-round automation of the steel-smelting process. The fact that steel casts are released from the converter at short intervals is of tremendous importance.

It was believed formerly that the oxygen-converter method of steel-smelting could be of limited use for refining only special iron. The quality of converter steel was also called in question. Experiments staged at the Novotulsky steel works and later the practical experience of the Petrovsky and Krivorozhstal plants showed that this process could be used to refine conventional, as well as special iron into steel not inferior in quality to open-hearth steel.

Besides smaller specific investments and lower maintenance costs, steel-making in converters will raise labour efficiency roughly 40 per cent over its level in the open-hearth process. The full process of refining iron into steel in a 100-ton converter will take about 45 minutes. Three such converters can produce more than two million tons of steel annually. It would take at least four open-hearth fur-

naces with a capacity of 500 tons each to manufacture the same quantity of steel.

It was pointed out at the 22nd Party Congress that for all the obvious advantages offered by the oxygen-converter method of steel-smelting quite inadequate attention is given to widening its application. *Pravda* has come up with this problem twice in the period since the Congress. What is the situation in this field at present?

The ways of developing the converter production of steel have been defined in a recent decision. In the coming four years oxygen-converter shops are to be built at nine enterprises: the Nizhni Tagil and Kuznetsk metallurgical complexes, the Ilyich, Azovstal, West Siberian, Chelyabinsk, Novolipetsk, Krivoy Rog and Karaganda plants. The first oxygen-converter shops are to be commissioned at the Nizhni Tagil complex and the Ilyich plant in the coming few years.

It is planned to build simultaneously with converter shops powerful oxygen stations, shops to produce resin-dolomite refractory materials for lining converters, and waste gas purification apparatus, as well as exhaust-heat boilers to be installed behind converters to recover heat carried away by waste gases.

Machine-builders are to organise serial production of large-capacity oxygen plants. This will have to be preceded by testing a pilot plant at the Azovstal works. It should be admitted that the Donetsk Economic Council is responsible for the intolerably long delay in putting up a building to house a large-capacity experimental oxygen unit. For this reason machine-builders have so far been unable to organise serial production of such units. The Ministry of Construction of the Russian Federation is obliged to complete the assembly of this experimental oxygen unit in the second quarter-year of 1962.

The 40th October Anniversary Plant of Balashikha is expected to cope with the all-important task of supplying oxygen units for the converter shops under construction.

The suppliers of basic equipment for converter shops are the South Urals engineering works of the Orenburg Economic Council and the Zhdanov heavy machine-building plant of the Donetsk Economic Council. Exhaust-heat boilers are to be built at Taganrog's 'Krasny Kotelshchik' plant of the Rostov Economic Council. The deadlines

for commissioning oxygen-converter shops depend on timely delivery of equipment by these plants.

A list of organisations taking part in designing converter shops has been finalised. Constant public control over work performance strictly on schedule should be instituted at all of these institutes and design bureau. During the current year and the first half of 1963 the Central Scientific Research Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy is to complete working out the technological process of manufacturing various grades of oxygen-converter steel.

High priority must be given to the construction of shops for making resin-dolomite refractories. At present the safety lining of converters is made of magnesite-chromite bricks. The cost of these bricks is high, and scarce and expensive materials—magnesite and chrome ore—are required for their production. Therefore, the institutes of refractories and the Giprostal Steel Works Design Institute planning the construction projects of resin-dolomite shops, as well as building organisations are obliged to carry out their assignments well and in good time.

All this is only the initial stage of introducing the highly efficient converter techniques of steel making. In the coming 10–15 years the share of oxygen-converter steel in the total output of ferrous metal is to be raised to 40 per cent. The share of open-hearth steel will be curtailed.

The Soviet Union has enormous resources of iron ore high in phosphorus. Oxygen-converter refining of iron smelted from this ore will yield not only cheap steel of high quality but also phosphorus slags which can be used as fertiliser.

Broad introduction of the highly productive and economical oxygen-converter process of steel manufacturing is a great and responsible task. The timely implementation of the measures outlined in this field must be subject to daily control on the part of local Party organisations, leading executives of Regional Economic Councils, building organisations, metallurgical and engineering works, scientific research and design institutes.

The Nation Honours its Heroes

Speech at a ceremonial meeting
of personnel of the Norilsk Ore
Mining and Metallurgical Complex, 29th
December 1965

Comrades,

The Soviet Government has taken a decision to award the supreme decoration of the Soviet Union—the Order of Lenin—to the Zave-nyagin Ore Mining and Metallurgical Complex of Norilsk in recognition of its success in fulfilling the assignments for increasing the output of non-ferrous metals and improving production technology and organisation. Orders and medals have also been awarded to 786 workers, engineers and technicians, and members of the managerial staff of the complex enterprises. The title of Hero of Socialist Labour has been conferred on five persons.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have instructed me to convey their greetings and warm congratulations to the workers, engineers and technicians, and managerial personnel of the Norilsk Ore Mining and Metallurgical Complex on the occasion of these high government decorations.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev has asked me to convey to you his personal congratulations and wishes of new great success in your work.

Allow me to extend my cordial greetings to all working people of Norilsk, which is a major centre of socialist industry and Soviet culture in the Far North.

Deposits of copper and nickel ores containing precious metals, coal, oil and gas, diamond and gold fields and other mineral resources have been discovered in this area during Soviet years.

All this wealth has already been placed at the service of the Soviet State and is playing an important and steadily growing part in building up the material and technological basis for communism in this country and in advancing the standards of life of the Soviet people.

The significance of the northern regions for Soviet economic progress is strikingly exemplified by the Norilsk complex, which has been built by the combined efforts of the Soviet people as a whole.

It is only thirty years since the construction of the city of Norilsk and the mining and metallurgical complex got under way. This is a short period historically. Thanks to the wise policy pursued by the Communist Party, however, within this short space of time an untrodden area of the tundra with an incalculable wealth hidden in its depths for centuries has been converted into a powerful industrial centre of this country.

Indeed, despite the extremely arduous conditions of the Far North and the lack of experience in building work beyond the Arctic Circle, as well as the unavailability of permanent transport connections with the country's main centres, spectacular success has been achieved in solving the formidable problems of developing the Far North in conditions of permafrost and polar nights.

Soviet geologists, ore and coal miners, enrichment and metallurgical plant workers—in fact, all working people of this giant industrial centre—have performed a truly heroic exploit by building beyond the Arctic Circle coal and ore mines, factories and plants widely equipped with the most up-to-date machinery, as well as a large city.

It is not enough to say, however, that a giant industrial complex and a modern city have been built here. Today the Order of Lenin Mining and Metallurgical Complex of Norilsk is the country's leading non-ferrous metal-manufacturing enterprise, while Norilsk is a beautiful city with good public amenities.

The collective of the complex have carried out great and commendable work during the years of the Seven-Year Plan. As is known, it has increased output by 60 per cent over the period. In many lines of production the assignments of the Seven-Year Plan have been fulfilled ahead of schedule.

The Seven-Year Plan has been overfulfilled in all lines of production at the complex.

It is important to note that the successful work of the people of Norilsk has largely contributed to solving the problem of nickel supply to the national economy. As a result of mechanisation and automation and the introduction of novel technology, labour efficiency at the complex has grown over 70 per cent during the Seven-Year Plan. All this is a great accomplishment by the collective of the complex.

Considerable success has been achieved in securing technological progress in all the sectors of the widely ramified economy of the giant northern mining and metallurgical enterprise.

This refers to mechanising and improving coal and ore mining techniques, improving the methods of opening work in open-cast mines, introducing modern methods of ore enrichment, a switchover to electric smelting of concentrates instead of low-productive shaft furnace smelting, roasting concentrates in fluidised bed furnaces, intensifying metal electrolysis and other productive processes.

Suffice it to say that in the years of the Seven-Year Plan about 7000 workers have been released by expanding the mechanisation and automation of productive processes, as well as improving production technology.

The Norilsk Complex has become a highly profitable enterprise. The profits from sales of produce during the seven-year period have exceeded the plan targets three times over.

Over the last few years the collective of the Norilsk Complex has regularly fulfilled and overfulfilled production plans and improved the techno-economic performance indices. Throughout the Seven-Year Plan period the complex has been the leader of the socialist emulation drive among the industries of the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Russian Federation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government have constantly given effective aid to the collective of the complex. During the last seven years alone over 40 million roubles' worth of modern equipment has been handed over to it.

In the Seven-Year Plan period a great deal of work has been done to improve the housing, living and cultural conditions of the working people employed at the Complex. More than 500,000 m² of housing, a large number of shops, dining-rooms, schools, childcare centres and

other cultural and welfare facilities have been built over the period. Add to these a swimming-pool, a music school, a TV studio and the wonderful Palace of Culture in which we are present now.

All production achievements of the Complex and improvements in the working people's housing, living, and cultural conditions are the result of the great constructive efforts of its personnel, the organising and guidance activities of the territorial Party organisation, as well as the Party organisations of the complex and the city.

People are the key factor in any field of activity. Its success depends on their performance. A thousands-strong body of skilled workers, engineers, and technicians—true masters of their trades—has been raised at the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Complex. The best of them have been awarded government decorations.

Most of those decorated are production workers and foremen—people by whose labour material values are created. Take, for instance, Yegor Bukovtsev, a senior converter operator of the nickel plant, who has been awarded the high title of Hero of Socialist Labour. He is an old timer of Norilsk with a working record of almost a quarter-century and is one of the plant's leading metallurgists. He and his workmates have helped introduce a new process of nickel production and new types of converters. He has always been a model worker setting examples for others to follow.

The team of excavator operators led by Vasily Panfilov, Hero of Socialist Labour, have earned a commendable record at ore mines. They have achieved the highest productivity of equipment per cubic metre of bucket capacity among the excavator operators of Norilsk. The team deliver 90–100 thousand tons of ore over and above plan every month.

Many front-ranking workers, foremen, engineers and technicians enjoy well-deserved respect at the Complex. Among them I wish to mention the names of the foremen Vyacheslav Kozlovsky and Olga Nevostruyeva, drift miner Vladimir Shkolnik, building worker Yevgeny Frantsuzov, cathode operator Ivan Gurkov, the manager of the copper-smelting plant, the first Communist Labour Enterprise of the Complex, Konstantin Kibalin, cutter Leonid Zhuravsky, and the excavator operator Nikolai Tkachenko. These and many other comrades are a veritable *élite* of the work force of the Complex.

The Party and Government attach enormous importance to developing speedily the natural wealth of the North, particularly the resources of the Norilsk area. The collective of the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Complex has been confronted with highly important tasks. Already in the coming year 1966 the Complex is to increase output 7–20 per cent and more in the main lines of non-ferrous metal production. In the next Five-Year Plan period the output of nickel, copper and cobalt is roughly to double.

The decisive task is to expand the ore supply base of the Complex by developing as quickly as possible the Talpakh deposit of rich copper and nickel ores. In the coming new years this deposit is to be turned into the main ore supplier of the Norilsk Complex. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have set the task of building two ore mines in the area of the Talnakh deposit, modernising the enrichment factory and metallurgical plants, and widening the fuel and power base of the complex.

In the coming period the strength and energy of the whole work force of the complex should be concentrated primarily on completing as early as possible the construction of the first ore mine 'Mayak' at the Talnakh deposit, for which it is necessary to introduce widely high-speed methods of tunnelling. It is also necessary to speed up work in modernising the nickel and copper plants, the enrichment factory and other enterprises and secure the commissioning of all productive capacities planned to be put into service in 1966.

It is mandatory to step up in every way the output of coal and to build speedily a new thermal power station. Accelerating work in prospecting for gas in the Norilsk area is of great importance for developing the fuel and power base.

A crucially important task is to advance the level and rates of the development of industry, to step up technological progress in all sectors of the national economy and to secure a further improvement in the well-being of the people. This requires mobilising all possibilities to bring into full play the reserves available to industry. The chief reserves are advancing production efficiency, the growth of labour productivity, an increase in returns on capital investments and main productive assets, strict economy, elimination of redundancy and

unproductive spending, encouragement in every way of the working people's creativity and initiative to accomplish these tasks.

The decisions of the September 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee have faced the personnel of the Norilsk Complex with important responsibilities.

A reduction in gross output per rouble of fixed assets tentatively planned at the Complex for 1970 as compared with 1965 cannot be accepted as normal.

The management, Party, and trade union organisations of the Complex should examine this plan indicator in detail and find means of raising it in the process of work to fulfil their Five-Year Plan assignments.

The tasks facing the personnel of the complex are as follows: to speed up technological progress in all sectors of production, to stimulate effectively more comprehensive utilisation of ores, to increase the rate of extraction of metal, to reduce losses in the process of enrichment and metallurgical conversion, to intensify metallurgical processes, to introduce electric smelting on a wide scale, to reduce construction costs, in particular by improving the quality of projects and introducing industrial methods of building work.

Increasing the rate of extraction of metal in the process of enrichment and metallurgical production is of especially great importance for improving the economic performance of the Complex. The task to be solved in the coming few years is to increase the extraction rate in metallurgical conversion, for instance, of nickel and cobalt by at least 4–10 per cent. You know full well that a higher rate of metal extraction yields additionally a large quantity of non-ferrous metals without expanding productive capacity. Suffice it to say that a 1 per cent increase in the rate of nickel extraction makes possible additional production of hundreds of tons of this metal. The Norilsk Complex, however, doesn't only manufacture nickel, and the possibilities for raising the rate of extraction of metals are by no means confined to 1 per cent.

The Complex can and must give the country millions of roubles in savings, not only by increasing the rate of extraction of metals but also by further mechanisation and automation of productive processes, by improving the organisation of work and changing over to

new forms of planning. Of crucial importance in this context is the implementation of the decisions of the September 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee to intensify the economic incentives to the operation of industry, to enhance the material interest of personnel in improving the performance results of the enterprise.

This is one of the prime tasks facing the work force of the Complex. An increase in production efficiency will improve the profit performance of enterprises and contribute to a growth of the national income. It is indispensable always to remember and to carry into effect the Party's instructions concerning a constant search for an ever wider range of means of stepping up the rates of developing production and improving the conditions of life of the Soviet people.

I wish to emphasise again that heavy industry has the key role to play in the national economy. It is the foundation for the successful construction of Communist society, for strengthening national defence, for increasing agricultural production and advancing the well-being of the people.

The core of heavy industry is metallurgy, which is called upon to meet the annually growing demand of the national economy for metal to cope with the enormous scope of capital construction and build up large-scale engineering industry, hence the great and responsible tasks facing the personnel of the metallurgical industry. The front-ranking collectives of metallurgical workers of Magnitogorsk, Cherepovets, and Zaporozhstal are successfully coping with their tasks. The thousands-strong work force of the Norilsk Complex is keeping up with them for the rates of increment in the production of non-ferrous and precious metals. This accounts for the great importance of the Norilsk Complex in the general development of the national economy and strengthening the country's defence capability.

As you know, the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in September 1965 resolved on changing over to the sectoral principle of management of the national economy and on enhancing the role of economic levers in planning. The task facing every industry and every enterprise is to prepare as early as possible for a switchover to the new system of planning and economic stimulation of production.

Your Complex has been put on the list of the country's first enterprises to switch over to the new system in 1966. This change will require great efforts, so the work force of the Complex must thoroughly prepare for it and organise their work in a new way. It is necessary to train personnel accordingly, to launch a day-to-day campaign for improving product quality, for saving materials and government funds, for better utilisation of available equipment and fixed assets.

The Soviet Government is confident that the work force of the Norilsk Complex and the city Party organisation will successfully cope with the tasks set before them.

Comrades,

Allow me to perform the pleasant assignment entrusted to me by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government and present the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Complex with a high government decoration—the Order of Lenin.

Allow me also to present decorations to the comrades awarded the proud title of Hero of Socialist Labour, as well as to those awarded other orders and medals.

I extend once again my heartfelt congratulations to the personnel of the Norilsk Complex on the occasion of their collective decoration, as well as to all those awarded orders and medals and wish them good health and new achievements in their work.

We Praise the People of Sakhalin Island

Speech at a ceremonial meeting of representatives of the working people of Sakhalin Island on the occasion of its Order of Lenin award, 4th October 1967

Dear comrades,

A momentous and joyous event is taking place on your island today. The Order of Lenin, the supreme award of the country, is to be presented to the Sakhalin Region in recognition of its spectacular economic and cultural progress.

I am delighted to attend this great and unforgettable ceremony in the easternmost borderland of our socialist country.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government I convey my heartfelt congratulations to you, the splendid and courageous workers of Sakhalin and the Kuriles, on this high government decoration and wish you new great success in fulfilling the historic decisions of the 23rd Party Congress.

The Order of Lenin on the banner of the Sakhalin Region symbolises the recognition by the Party and the entire Soviet people of the services of each of you: a fisherman or an oil worker, a timberer or a paper mill worker, a miner or a building worker—workers of all sectors of the national economy and culture, all those who have contributed by their labours to the development and progress of this severe and beautiful land.

This is an award to all generations of inhabitants of your island region: to those who fought courageously for establishing Soviet

government, those who liberated this ancient Russian land by force of arms, not sparing their lives in fighting, from imperialist conquerors.

This is an award to those who were born and raised here, who came to this distant land at the call of the Party to contribute to the wealth and glory of our great homeland.

This is an award to the men of the Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force, to the valiant Soviet border guards who vigilantly safeguard the security of the Soviet Far Eastern frontiers.

Today's is a particularly gladdening and great event because this high award has been conferred on your region in a significant year—the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—when we are reviewing the path we have travelled and all our accomplishments in the years of Soviet government.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in world history—the era of the decline of capitalism—and turned the destinies of nations to the path of socialism. The slogans of the October Revolution, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, have become a practical matter for the Soviet people.

Celebrating the half-century anniversary of their socialist country, the Soviet people take lawful pride in the majestic achievements of socialism, in its fundamental advantages over capitalism in developing the material and spiritual potentialities of society.

Over the last fifty years the Soviet Union has turned into a leading industrial power. Soviet industrial output has grown 113 times over the period. In the meantime, industry in the United States has grown roughly seven-fold. This difference illustrates the potentialities of the socialist economy.

The fulfilment of Lenin's co-operative plan has radically transformed the aspect of the countryside. In place of an enormous number of small owners, a system of large highly productive farms has been established. In his time Lenin dreamt of 100,000 tractors for agriculture; towards the beginning of 1967 there were 1,660,000 of them. Gross agricultural output has increased 180 per cent over its level before the Revolution.

The development of productive forces serves to achieve the main goal of socialism: an all-round advance of the material and cultural well-being of the people.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held on 26 September, 1967 gave its approval to the national economic plan for the period 1968–1970 and the state budget of 1968, as well as to the measures for the continued improvement of the living standards of the people outlined in the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev.

The decisions taken are aimed at securing a better living for tens of millions of Soviet citizens and providing the conditions for newcomers to settle permanently in the Far North and Far East of the country.

This is evidence of the greatly increased economic power of the Soviet Union, which can afford investing such enormous resources in advancing the standards of life of the people along with implementing a breathtaking plan of construction work and in spite of the complicated international situation.

The resolutions of the September 1967 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee are another striking testimony of the Party's constant concern for improving the life of the people.

Full employment, the world's lowest house rent, free education and medical service are all the result of the fundamental improvement in the standards of life of the people since the Great October Socialist Revolution. Housing construction has assumed tremendous scope in the Soviet Union. The output of consumer goods is increased, their range widened and their quality improved year after year. Soviet citizens enjoy broad opportunities and are provided with the requisite facilities for getting a secondary and higher education and for advancing their cultural standards. Today a total of 84.5 million persons have a secondary or higher education in the Soviet Union.

Soviet science has made spectacular progress since the Revolution. Outstanding successes have been achieved in the exploration of outer space. A powerful atomic industry has been established. Soviet scientists have an impressive record of achievements in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, geology, and other branches of knowledge. At present the Communist Party has focused its attention on stepping up measures to secure the further development of the social sciences.

The main outcome of the Soviet people's revolutionary transformative activities under the leadership of the Communist Party is the complete and final triumph of socialism.

The enthusiastic work of the Soviet people is yielding rich fruit: the state plan for the anniversary year is being successfully fulfilled.

Industrial production between January and August of this year has grown 10.6 per cent from what it was a year before. Farmers are also working hard in this anniversary year. A number of regions and some of the Republics have already fulfilled their plan and assignments for grain sales to the state. Stock farmers have also achieved appreciable successes.

Rapid economic progress makes for a steady improvement in the living standards of the people. There have been increments in the current year in the average monthly earnings of factory and office workers, in the rates of remuneration of collective farmers, and in payments and other benefits financed out of the social consumption funds.

Fundamental changes have taken place in your region during the period of Soviet government thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for the economic and cultural advance of the formerly backward fringelands of Imperial Russia, the all-round fraternal assistance and active participation of the working people of all Republics in developing the natural wealth of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles.

Before the Revolution the very name of your island, a far-away wilderness and a place of hard labour, made people feel scared.

Under socialism, however, by the will of the Party and the dedicated work of Soviet people, it has been turned into a blooming land with an advanced economy and culture, a dependable bastion of socialism in the Far East.

The working people of the Sakhalin Region have great ideals and aspirations in common with the whole people and are working intensively to implement the plans of the Party. Like all Soviet people they are preparing to honour the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution with new labour accomplishments.

The personnel of many industrial enterprises, transport services, construction projects, and farms have set up splendid examples of

shock work in this anniversary year. The dedicated work of the people of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles attests their infinite devotion to the cause of the October Revolution, their monolithic cohesion with the Communist Party and its Central Committee.

The Order of Lenin on the banner of the Sakhalin Region symbolises not only a recognition of your services to the country. It also expresses the confidence of the Party and people that you will continue to march in the front ranks of the builders of communism and consolidate by your labour the might of our great homeland.

Allow me to express my assurance that in response to this high award the working people of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles will honour the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution with new achievements in the economic and cultural development of their region.

Your island region has a very distinctive and eventful history. Its most fascinating pages were opened by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the far-away Sakhalin Island the Soviets firmly took over power as late as May 1925, but only in the northern part of the island. At that time there were just a few handicraft workshops with a total work force of 604, and not more than 40,000 tons of oil and coal was produced annually. Transportation and communication services were non-existent.

By that time the areas under crops on the peasant farms had shrunk by 25 per cent and the head of livestock by one half, while the population was a mere 10,000 when Soviet government had been restored.

Immediately after the restoration of Soviet power on Sakhalin Island the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government allocated large financial resources, considerable quantities of food, manufactured goods, and building materials for developing the economy and normalising the life of the working people of Sakhalin.

In the period of the prewar Five-Year Plans the oil, fishing, coal, timber and food industries were built anew in Sakhalin Island. Between 1929 and 1932 the peasants joined collective farms.

Many thousands of Soviet people matured and hardened, working on the building projects of Sakhalin enduring with great courage the rigorous conditions of an uninhabited land. They cleared the taiga,

built towns, railways, timber stations and fish-packing plants. They lived in tents and dug-outs, staunchly enduring the inevitable hardships of daily living at that time, dreaming of their radiant future.

Young people played an active part in socialist construction on Sakhalin Island. The envoys of the Leninist Komsomol¹ who had come to the island on assignments from the Komsomol Central Committee invariably came forward as initiators of socialist emulation and shock work drives.

Many of those who came in the thirties on Party and Komsomol assignments to reclaim Sakhalin's taiga wilderness, to build derricks and mines, and develop agriculture still live and work on Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles. They are elderly people today, but as before they give the ardour of their hearts to the cause of renovation of this island area.

On the occasion of this great holiday for the Sakhalin Region I convey to them our heartfelt thanks for their great labours and wish them many more years of fruitful work.

In the grim years of the Great Patriotic War the working people of Sakhalin Island made their contribution to the defeat of the enemy. They sent their sons and daughters to serve in the Army, Navy and Air Force, gave the country between 1941 and 1945 millions of tons of oil and coal, thousands of centners of fish and built an oil pipe-line from Okha to Komsomolsk across the Tatar Strait.

After the expulsion of the Japanese invaders from Southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles, the Sakhalin Region was established in January 1947 within its present borders. A new chapter was opened in the economic development of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles. It was characterised by high growth rates of industrial and agricultural production. In that period all sectors of the region's economy were reconstructed on a modern technological foundation.

All this enabled a considerable increase in the productivity of labour and a large increment in industrial output.

As a result of the persistent efforts of the regional Party organisation, all working people of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles, the

* Komsomol. (Russ.) The Young Communist League. *Translator.*

economic performance indices of the region have improved, and fifty-six new enterprises and factory shops have been put into operation.

As you see, the record of achievements of the working people of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles on the eve of the next Five-Year Plan is quite impressive.

Just think of these achievements, of the enormous amount of labour and material resources and public money invested in them. Every working man and women of your region can rightly be proud of their share in these achievements.

In recognition of their selfless work and initiative in advancing the region's economy and culture in the postwar years more than 11,000 workers of industry, construction projects, transport services, agriculture, community services, and culture have been decorated with Soviet orders and medals, while twenty of your fellow islanders have had the high title of Hero of Socialist Labour conferred upon them. The veteran production collective of the 'Sakhalin-neft' oil-producing association and the collective of the region's best 'Krasnopolsky' collective farm have been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

These people and these collectives are the pride and glory of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles, our gold fund, figuratively speaking.

The Sakhalin Region today is one of the developed industrial areas of the Far East. Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles secure for this country access to the resources of the Far Eastern seas, provide harbour facilities for the Soviet merchant navy and fishing flotillas, and favourable opportunities for commerce with neighbouring nations.

The fishing industry has become the leading sector of the region's economy, accounting for almost one half of its gross industrial output. The fishing industry on Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles has grown into a large-scale oceanic industry. High-quality products of fishing industry enterprises of your region are in great demand on the domestic and foreign markets.

The oil, coal, pulp-and-paper and timber industries have been greatly developed in the region. Much more oil and coal is produced in one week than in the whole of 1926, while the coal output is 35 times greater than it was in the years of the first Five-Year Plan.

Today your region manufactures almost as much paper as the entire Imperial Russia produced in 1913.

The successes in Sakhalin's industrial development have been made possible by implementing a wide construction programme. In the postwar years the relatively young work force of Sakhalin builders built anew or reconstructed more than 250 enterprises of the fishing, coal, timber, woodworking and other industries.

The rapidly growing economy of the region and its specific geographical position require constant attention to be paid to developing transportation facilities. The region has all the modern types of transport: marine, railway, air, motor, and pipeline. They are handling effectively the increased traffic of goods for the national economy.

Today it would no longer be true to talk of Sakhalin as a far-away part of Soviet territory. Indeed, a modern air liner flies from Moscow to Yuzhnosakhalinsk in only ten hours. That regional centre is connected by airways with other towns and workers' settlements of the region.

Farmers also have great achievements to their credit. More and more state farms attain high efficiency standards to join the front ranks in the nationwide drive for an abundance of foodstuffs in the country.

In this anniversary year the state farms of the region are surpassing by a considerable margin their targets for sales of livestock and poultry, milk and eggs.

Today we have every reason to say that the new Five-Year Plan has made a confident start on Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles, just as throughout the country, and the plan assignments for the Sakhalin Region will unquestionably be fulfilled.

Allow me to convey our heartfelt gratitude to the workers, engineers, technicians, all specialists of industry, construction projects, transport services, and agriculture for their selfless work in the name of the triumph of Communism.

Particularly striking is the difference between the present and the past of Sakhalin Island in the domain of culture. Indeed, before the advent of Soviet government the very word 'culture' was out of place on Sakhalin. It is hard to imagine today that less than half-a-century

ago almost the entire population of the island was illiterate. The intelligentsia was represented by one doctor, three obstetricians, one pharmacist, and 67 teachers, none of whom had had higher education.

The Sakhalin Region today is an area of 100 per cent literacy and high cultural standards. Every opportunity has been provided for the education and cultural advancement of the working people.

More than 400 general day schools are functioning in the region. A total of over 6000 teachers provide instruction and guidance to 131,000 youngsters of Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Significantly, teachers are trained at the region's own institution of higher learning: the State Pedagogical Institute of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

Over twenty postwar years the population of the region grew 550 per cent, and the number of higher school graduates nineteen times over. Today one in every eleven factory and office workers of the Sakhalin Region has a specialised secondary education.

Another evidence of the advance of the cultural standards and technical competence of the region's population is the existence of nine scientific research institutions, which are engaged in the exploration of the natural wealth of Sakhalin Island, the Kuriles, and the seas and oceans washing their shores.

The cultural life of Sakhalin today is inconceivable without the contributions of local writers, artists, and composers. It is significant that the anniversary year of Soviet power has seen the birth of the region's own writers' union. Another important event in the cultural life of the region will be the commissioning at Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution of a ground terminal station of the 'Orbita' telecommunications satellite system.

It will bring telecasts of the Central TV Studios in Moscow and Intervention into every home on Sakhalin.

The network of cultural and enlightenment institutions on the islands is being steadily widened. The regional A. P. Chekhov Drama Theatre is known for its interesting repertoire. Thousands of theatre-goers on Sakhalin and the Kuriles see its stage productions every year. Visiting soloists of Moscow's opera houses, stars of the Soviet variety stage, and famous choirs regularly perform before local audiences.

Films are shown in every town, village, and settlement on Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles. In the anniversary year the newspapers *Pravda* and *Sovietskaya Rossiya* have started to come out in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Subscribers receive their copies now as fast as residents of the country's central areas.

I wish the artistic intelligentsia of the Sakhalin Region great success in their further work to perfect the forms and methods of artistic creation, the truthful portrayal of the many-sided Soviet realities, the life and work of their countrymen and women.

The achievements of your region have been made possible by the strenuous efforts of its Party organisation. The Sakhalin Communists have proved by their deeds that they are a dependable contingent of our Leninist Party.

The Sakhalin Party organisation had only 80 members in 1925. Today it has a membership of about 37,000, including candidate members. These are the finest people of the region, courageous patriots, dedicated fighters for the great cause of building Communism. They were in the vanguard of those who transformed your wonderful land. And today almost three-quarters of the members of the regional Party organisation are employed directly in the sphere of material production.

I wish the Sakhalin regional Party organisation and all local Party organisations further success in their guidance of economic and cultural advance and the development of the Soviets.

The accelerated growth of productive facilities in the Far East is a cardinal economic task. This is why the Party and Government have adopted the two resolutions on this problem, of which you are well aware. One of them is specifically concerned with stepping up the rates of developing the productive forces of the Sakhalin Region, and the other has outlined measures for the continued development of the productive forces of the Far Eastern Economic Area and the Chita Region. The assignments formulated in these resolutions have been taken account of in the national economic plan for 1968-1970 approved by the September 1967 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The working people of the Sakhalin Region are to handle a good deal of work during these years. Geologists have to expand consider-

ably the scope of prospecting work to reveal additional reserves of oil and gas, high-quality coal, and deposits of rare metal ores. The collectives of oil-fields and pulp-and-paper mills will have to increase the production of pulp, cardboard, and higher grades of paper. The pulp-and-paper industry is to achieve high rates of profit performance, and the oil industry to make more frugal use of investments and to raise considerably the profitability of its work.

It is mandatory to take better advantage of the Sakhalin coal basin, special attention being paid to lowering coal extraction costs. The output of natural gas is to be boosted 370 per cent in the current five-year period.

The development of industry and large investments in the construction of housing and cultural and community facilities have posed important tasks for building organisations, as well as the building materials industry and the timber enterprises of the region, which are responsible for supplies of materials for this programme.

The fishing industry will as before hold a leading place in the national economy. The further development of this industry involves an extension of operations to new fishing grounds, a more efficient organisation of fishing operations and rational use of fishing craft.

Radical changes are to take place in power development. Upon the completion of the construction of the Southern Sakhalin thermal electric power station, the commissioning of the first section of the Southern Sakhalin heat-and-power plant and the required power transmission lines a unified power grid will be established in the southern part of Sakhalin Island.

The continued improvement of all transportation facilities is of crucial importance for stepping up the rates of growth of the region's productive forces.

Great importance is attached to the further advance of agriculture. Workers of state farms are to carry out large land reclamation projects, to build a number of hot-house complexes, to expand the region's mechanised poultry farm. This will enable a large increment in the production of potatoes, vegetables, and livestock farm produce, as well as a cut in their costs.

To fulfil successfully these great and complicated tasks it is necessary to achieve a radical improvement in the economic efficiency of all

sectors of production and capital investments. It is necessary to take advantage of every opportunity to raise the productivity of labour.

I am confident that the working people of the region, led by its Party organisation, will honourably fulfil the tasks set before them by the Party and Government.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is of tremendous historic significance not only for this country but also for the development of all nations, for the world as a whole.

The formation of the world socialist system is the main result of international development over the last half-century. Today the socialist countries account for about 35 per cent of the world's population. The October Revolution gave a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement, which spread throughout the world and brought liberation to 1500 million people.

This precisely is the reason why imperialism is seeking to strangle the national liberation movement by every means at its disposal. Having cast off all camouflage, the U.S. imperialists have been waging an open war of aggression against the Vietnamese people for several years now.

The plans of American reaction, however, are suffering a fiasco. Even its subservient media have to admit more and more often the hopelessness of the policy pursued by Washington's strategists.

International tensions have been brought to a high pitch by Israel's aggression against Arab countries. The seat of war in the Middle East has been added to that in South-East Asia. This has complicated the international situation and increased the danger of a broader military conflict. The resolute stand taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in support of the friendly Arab countries has restrained the Israeli invaders, but the threat of a resumption of hostilities in the Middle East will continue as long as the aggressors remain in the occupied territories.

The Soviet people and all honest people on earth are demanding an urgent elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab lands, and compensation to the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan for the damage caused to them.

In implementing the decisions of its 23rd Congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will carry on its determined struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism, and will continue to render all-round assistance to the peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence, for social progress. Peaceful co-existence of states having different social systems, a struggle against reaction and war, for lasting peace on earth are the foundation of Soviet foreign policy.

Allow me to congratulate you again on your high government decoration and express my confidence that all the working people of the Sakhalin Region will with honour live up to the trust of the Party and Government and will do their utmost to promote the prosperity of their land and to achieve new successes in communist construction.

Long live the Sakhalin Region!

Long live the great Soviet people building communism!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading and organising force in all our achievements!

On Further Measures to Reinforce the Protection of Mineral Wealth and to Improve the Utilisation of Mineral Resources and on the Draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth of the USSR and the Union Republics

**Report at the Third Session of the USSR
Supreme Soviet, 8th July 1975**

Comrade deputies,

A successful solution to the tasks in communist construction requires as a matter of major importance a rational utilisation of mineral raw material resources, which are one of the main components of the nation's natural wealth. Socialist ownership of mineral wealth and the planned system of management of the national economy have created the most favourable conditions for a comprehensive, effective and frugal utilisation of mineral wealth and for its protection.

Thanks to the purposeful policy pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet State, and the selfless work of the people, a regular system of mineral raw materials supplies has been established, which fully meets the demand for minerals in the key sectors of the national economy and makes a dependable basis for long-term economic progress.

The Soviet Union's mining industry, which accounts for almost one-quarter of world output, is developing at a rapid pace. This is made possible by the successful activities of thousands of geologists, by developing high-efficiency Soviet technology, and by the inspired labour of coal miners, ore miners, and building workers. The Soviet Union leads the world in the production of coal, oil, iron ore, manganese and chromite ores, potassium salts, phosphate raw materials, and is the world's second biggest producer of gas and many non-ferrous metal ores.

During Soviet years, thousands of deposits of various minerals have been discovered and developed. One remarkable result of long years of exploration and geological prospecting is the discovery of oil and gas fields in the Ural-Volga area, Western Siberia, copper and nickel ore deposits in the Norilsk region, and diamond fields in Yakutia.

The rapid development of the oil provinces in North-Western Siberia is one of the distinctive marks of our time. A backwoods area in the past, it is turning into a large industrial region literally before our eyes.

Numerous oil and gas fields have been put into operation in Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, the Komi Autonomous Republic and other areas.

The involvement in economic exploitation of new fields has laid the groundwork for the rapid development of the oil and gas industry.

In the last few years successful work has been going on in developing the iron ore reserves of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area. Lenin in his time attached great importance to exploring and developing its mineral wealth. He wrote in 1922: "I am calling attention to the crucial importance of work in exploring the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly. . . . We have here almost certainly a wealth unknown anywhere else in the world, which can revolutionise all metallurgy."¹

To launch such operations on a wide scale, however, was beyond the possibilities of the young Soviet Republic. Only modern socialist industry has been able to place this wealth of unique enormity at the service of the people. The biggest ore enrichment complexes built in

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 54, pp. 226, 227.

the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area will supply 36 million tons of iron ore to iron-and-steel works during the current year alone. It will be recalled that in 1913 the whole of Imperial Russia produced a little more than 9 million tons of iron, while in the prewar year 1940 the Soviet Union turned out about 30 million tons.

The Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area is destined to play an outstanding part in developing the country's iron-and-steel industry.

The Krivoy Rog iron ore basin and the Donetsk coal basin hold an important place in the Soviet economy. A highly-developed iron-and-steel industry has been built up on their basis. Today the Krivoy Rog basin accounts for almost half the total iron ore output of the Soviet Union.

We have established and are developing intensively other large mining areas: the Kuznetsk, Karaganda, Pechora, Kansk-Achinsk and other coal deposits; the Norilsk, Altai, Sokolovsko-Sarbaisky, and Kachkanarsky non-ferrous and ferrous ore deposits; the Kola, Ural and Byelorussian reserves of raw materials for manufacturing mineral fertiliser, and a number of other ore mining regions in Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Urals and the Far East.

The construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway being carried on in accordance with resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers is to provide access to the vast natural resources of Eastern Siberia and the Far East, the unique coking coal deposits of the Southern Yakutian basin, deposits of ferrous, non-ferrous, rare and noble metal ores, asbestos and other minerals.

The development of the national economy is causing a rapid increase in the demand for various kinds of mineral raw materials. The output of many minerals doubles roughly every 8-10 years. This circumstance requires not only a constant expansion of the proven mineral reserves but also economical exploitation of mineral wealth, which, as is known, is practically not renewable in contrast to forests, waters and some other natural resources.

Improvement of the utilisation of mineral raw materials is one of the key prerequisites for reducing material inputs in the national economy. It contributes to perfecting the structure of production and raises the rate of returns on fixed assets. A mere 1 per cent saving of

relevant mineral raw materials is equivalent to an additional involvement in production of 1 million tons of steel, about 5 million tons of oil, up to 3000 m³ of natural gas.

The importance of mineral wealth is greatly enhanced in conditions of fast economic, scientific and technological progress. Many aspects of man's activity are connected with use of minerals and products extracted from them.

The earth's interior yields coal, oil, and gas, which are the principal energy sources, as well as numerous minerals used in the production of metals, raw materials for the chemical industry, fertiliser for agriculture, and building materials; from them is extracted a large proportion of waters, including medicinal mineral waters and thermal waters. Various engineering and transport communications and structures are accommodated deep underground. The earth's depths are used for the storage of oil, gas, various materials, as well as for the burial of harmful substances and production wastes.

An intrusion deep into the earth may produce a general, at times quite tangible, influence on the environment. There have been cases of agricultural lands being made unfit for cultivation, grave damage caused to forests, derangement in the hydrogeological régime of areas, in the terrain relief and the directions of air currents, pollution of the earth's surface, the air, and bodies of water with industrial wastes.

The Soviet Communist Party and Government are purposefully and consistently coping with the problems involved in the rational utilisation of natural resources and nature conservation. Suffice it to say that in recent time a series of statutory acts have been adopted to solve these problems. Among them are the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 1972 'On Reinforcing Nature Protection and Improving the Utilisation of Natural Resources,' the Fundamentals of Land Legislation and the Fundamentals of Water Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the resolution 'On Measures for Further Improvement of Nature Protection and Rational Utilisation of Natural Resources.'

The Soviet Government pays daily attention to this important matter.

Improvement of the utilisation of mineral resources and reinforcement of the protection of mineral wealth also require amendment of the legislation regulating social relations in this field.

These problems confronted Soviet government in the early days of its advent. The nationalisation of mineral resources carried out in accordance with Lenin's Decree on the Land made possible their planned, comprehensive and effective utilisation. The later adopted Decree on Mineral Resources signed by Lenin in 1920, the Statute on Mineral Resources and Their Exploitation of 1923 and The Mining Statute of the USSR of 1927 played an important part in regulating the complex relations in the field of utilising mineral wealth.

However, the effective mining legislation fails to reflect the socio-economic transformations in evidence, as well as the increased scope of production and the radical changes in the techniques of extraction, enrichment and processing of minerals, and is not fully adequate to the tasks in securing an effective utilisation and protection of mineral wealth.

The draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth of the USSR and the Union Republics submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers to this session have been drawn up with a view to the requirements of the present stage in the development of the national economy.

The draft Fundamentals formulate the provisions of principle for the exclusive ownership of mineral wealth by the Soviet socialist state, for a rational utilisation and protection of this wealth, and define the tasks facing enterprises, organisations, institutions, and individuals in this field.

The draft provides for the regulation of the most important aspects of utilising mineral wealth, lays down the procedure of making it available to users, and formulates their main rights and duties.

Special sections in the draft are devoted to the problems of geological exploration of mineral wealth, the designing, construction, and commissioning of mining industry enterprises, the working of mineral deposits, as well as the use of the earth's depths for purposes other than mining mineral resources.

The draft lays special emphasis on securing the safety of mining

operations, state supervision and control over the exploitation and protection of mineral wealth.

The draft defines the main requirements in the field of mineral wealth protection, lays down regulations for state registration of the reserves and deposits of minerals and areas of the earth's interior set aside for purposes other than mining minerals. The draft Fundamentals proceed from the principle that the main users of mineral resources are mining industry enterprises. Improvement of the utilisation of mineral wealth and reinforcement of its protection depend primarily on the rational management of operations by these enterprises.

To meet without fail the steadily growing demand of the economy for mineral raw materials, taking account of the needs of the generations to come, is possible only by enduring the most complete extraction of minerals in their mining, enrichment and subsequent processing. In the prevailing conditions of developing the mining industry this is a matter of first priority. Today considerable quantities of coal, iron ore, and non-ferrous metal ores are left after working deposits in a number of mines. The reserves of potassium salt in the biggest deposits of the Urals and Byelorussia are by no means used completely.

The draft provides for measures to impose the responsibility for the rational utilisation of mineral resources and for the working of deposits with minimum losses of minerals on all those entrusted to handle mineral wealth by the state.

The amount of losses of minerals in mining is decisively influenced by the method of working their deposits, by the technology and processes applied. The rate of extraction of minerals is appreciably heightened by the mining industry's orientation on the priority development of open-cast mining, which yields high economic performance results. Open-cast mining not only raises the productivity of labour and cuts production costs but also essentially eases the work of the miners, secures a more complete extraction of minerals with relatively low losses accounting for 3-8 per cent and only in working deposits difficult of access, for 10-12 per cent.

Already now the bulk of the minerals mined in this country is extracted by open-cast techniques. In the long term the output of coal by open-cast mines is to be brought up to 50-55 per cent, iron ore up

to 85 per cent, non-ferrous metal ores up to 75-80 per cent, and mined chemical raw materials up to 60 per cent.

Modern Soviet technology and processes also enable a substantial reduction in the loss of minerals in underground mining. A considerable cut in losses is secured by an ever wider application of working systems with gob flushing. These systems are already at work at many large non-ferrous metal ore mines, at a number of mines of the iron-and-steel industry, and are being introduced in the Kuznetsk coal basin. A reduction in the losses of hard minerals is facilitated by the application of machines and mechanisms with parameters corresponding to the geological conditions of layers and deposits.

Over the last few years a certain reduction of mineral losses has been achieved at mines of the 'Karagandaugol', 'Vorkutaugol', 'Chelyabinskugol' associations, the 'Shakhterskanthracite' mining complex, at ore mines of the Dnieper, Sokolovsko-Sarbaisky, Gaisky, Uchalinsk, and Tyrnyauz ore-dressing complexes, and at other enterprises.

However, there are still large reserves in all branches of the mining industry, which make possible a further reduction in the losses of minerals during mining. Such reserves are improvement of the organisation of operations and working systems, improvement of mining technology and processes, introduction of mining techniques with gob flushing, etc.

The broad application of the methods devised by Soviet scientists and engineers to maintain the stratum pressure in the process of working oil deposits has enabled a substantial increase in oil extraction. However, we cannot be indifferent to the fact that with the present methods of extraction a large quantity of proven oil reserves still remains underground.

Scientific research organisations have developed and tested in experimental industrial conditions new physico-chemical and thermal methods of affecting productive strata, which will raise the rate of oil extraction 10-25 per cent, depending on the specifics of the oil-fields concerned. This will yield a large increment in oil output. It is a matter of urgency to introduce these methods on a broad scale, as well as to work out and apply other, more effective techniques of oil extraction.

Thus, the draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth makes provision for the application of the most rational and effective extraction techniques as one of the main principles of utilisation of mineral resources. In view of this, the Ministries and other government departments responsible for direction of the mining of mineral deposits should carry out a great deal of work to secure a further reduction in the losses of minerals during extraction.

Fairly large potentialities for improving the utilisation of mineral raw material resources are to be found in raising the rate of extraction of useful components during enrichment and processing by widening the application of progressive methods, by searching for and introducing new technological processes ensuring more complete treatment of raw materials, semifabricated products and utilisation of production wastes. At the same time the nuclear physics methods of testing and control over the quality of extracted and processed ores of ferrous and non-ferrous metals may also be very helpful.

Special attention should be paid to working out and mastering efficient technological processes and automated equipment for comprehensive processing of copper-rich copper-nickel ores of Norilsk and nickel ores of the Urals, as well as to the application of new, more advanced technology in processing hard-to-enrich oxidised and mixed copper ores.

The introduction of progressive techniques and a new technology of processing minerals will make it possible to use large and still idle reserves of oxidised iron, carbonate, manganese ores and sludges and some non-ferrous metal ores, which will considerably expand the mineral raw materials base of the iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metal industries and rule out the temporary storage of these ores in waste heaps and losses in mines.

The draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth gives great attention to comprehensive and rational utilisation of mineral raw material resources as one of the key directions of technical policy in the mining industry. For this purpose regulations are laid down for geological prospecting with a view to collecting in good time reliable and adequate data that make possible comprehensive utilisation of mineral deposits.

Requirements are stipulated for drawing up plans of building new and reconstructing operating ore enrichment plants, which secure the application of modern technology and processes for extracting and processing mineral raw materials, for concurrent extraction of a maximum number of useful components, for working mixed deposits of minerals, as well as for utilising production wastes.

As is known, the majority of mineral deposits contain a number of valuable components, whose extraction offers fairly large economic advantages to the national economy. Sometimes accompanying substances have independent importance, while their total economic value is not infrequently greater than that of the main component. Comprehensive utilisation of mineral resources substantially cuts the losses of minerals and increases raw materials supplies offering great economic benefits. Over the last few years definite successes have been achieved in this field. For instance, in manufacturing eleven basic non-ferrous metals, more than sixty elements are extracted concurrently, in particular large quantities of noble metals bismuth, indium, gallium, selenium, tellurium, cobalt, and other valuable elements. Concurrent extraction accounts for over 10 per cent of the country's total production of copper, lead, and zinc and for about 20 per cent of sulphuric acid. The Norilsk and Balkhash mining and metallurgical complexes, the Ust-Kamenogorsk lead and zinc complex, the Chimgent lead plant, and a number of other enterprises extract most of the valuable elements contained in ores.

The Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy of the USSR, Republican organisations of Kazakhstan and other Union Republics have drawn up and are implementing a wide programme of organisational and technical measures to increase the comprehensive utilisation of ores at all stages of their processing. They have established assignments for extracting useful components, and have widened research on comprehensive utilisation of mineral raw materials.

It should be pointed out at the same time that the work to solve the problem of comprehensive utilisation of minerals in the mining industry is still going slowly. Not all of the iron ore mines are extracting accompanying useful components contained in iron ore. In developing new oil-fields a large amount of by-product gas is lost because of delays in the construction of gas-processing plants and installa-

tions for gas collection and transportation. Helium contained in natural gas is not always extracted. The problems involved in complete comprehensive utilisation of apatite-nepheline ores in the Kola Peninsula have not yet been solved. At a number of enterprises in various industries the losses of valuable elements ejected into the atmosphere with gases and dust are still too large.

It would be wrong to explain the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the comprehensive utilisation of minerals as inadequate attention to this important matter on the part of Ministries and other government departments. In many instances this situation has taken shape historically as a result of the necessary concentration of efforts on the fulfilment of the main task—that of increasing the production of basic elements. Non-comprehensive exploration of deposits during geological prospecting also delayed the settlement of the questions of rational utilisation of minerals.

Now the situation is changing for the better: deposits under exploration are being studied more completely, and technological and material possibilities have been made available for comprehensive utilisation of mineral raw materials. These possibilities must be widely used by Ministries, government departments, and other organisations and should be taken into consideration in drawing up the tenth Five-Year Plan.

We have started to analyse more deeply the specifics and development prospects of industry, and have come to grips with such problems of key importance in our day as labour efficiency, returns on assets, enhancement of production efficiency. Successful fulfilment of the tasks confronting us will yield additionally rich possibilities to be used for the benefit of the people. One such effective way of developing the mining and metallurgical and other extractive industries is combination of the production of basic products with the use of by-products and the utilisation of wastes.

It is economically advantageous for industry to utilise concurrently extracted rock, particularly during opening operations in open-cast mining of mineral deposits. Rock brought to the surface and stored in heaps often takes up large areas of land, whereas in certain cases this rock can be widely used for making road metal, cement, lime, glass, silicate bricks, refractories, moulding materials and, finally, as raw

materials for the faience industry. Rational utilisation of such rock will allow a curtailment of the output of raw materials by building materials industry enterprises. Besides a considerable saving of government funds, this will leave unspoiled the land areas which might have otherwise been damaged by the operations of specialised enterprises for extracting building materials. Similar results are yielded by the utilisation of wastes of concentration plants, metallurgical slag, ash and slag from burning steam coal.

A great economic effect and a substantial reduction in environmental pollution must be ensured by means of extracting useful mineral raw materials from gases, dust and effluents of mining industry enterprises. A number of plants in the Urals, for instance, have organised production of sulphuric acid from sulphur dioxide trapped in processing copper-containing ore. This sulphuric acid is used for manufacturing mineral fertiliser at the same enterprises. Zinc, lead, and considerable quantities of rare metals are extracted from dust and gases released in processing Altai polymetallic ores. At the Balkhash mining and metallurgical complex molybdenum is extracted from industrial effluents, and waste waters are purified in the process to the required degree of cleanliness. Purification of production wastes with utilisation of substances trapped holds out the best promise of environmental protection.

I wish to emphasise specifically the enormous economic importance of measures to enhance the comprehensiveness, completeness and quality of extracting minerals, to abolish unwarranted losses during their extraction, concentration and processing. This makes it possible to put up the rate of returns on assets, to increase production at operating enterprises, in some cases obviates the need to build new enterprises, and considerably heightens the efficiency of social production.

The draft Fundamentals proceed from the necessity of enhancing the role of the planning and controlling government bodies in securing a rational utilisation of mineral wealth. The work in protection of mineral wealth and rational utilisation of mineral resources has now been placed on a planned foundation. Beginning with the current year, the state plans for economic development envisage special assignments for securing complete extraction of minerals for

measures to be implemented to improve their comprehensive utilisation.

The draft Fundamentals lay down uniform systems of state registration of mineral deposits and mineral reserves, as well as parts of the earth's interior assigned for uses other than extraction of minerals. The introduction of such registration systems will certainly contribute to better utilisation of mineral resources.

The Party and Government have invariably paid keen attention to stepping up geological prospecting operations to reveal new deposits and improve the economic characteristics of mineral raw materials supplies. Substantial sums are allocated for these purposes in the annual budgets.

The effectiveness of investments in developing the mineral raw materials base of industry largely depends on the standards of geological prospecting. Inefficient geological surveys, errors and miscalculations in estimating mineral deposits involve unwarranted expenses. Unfortunately, there have been cases of overstatement of mineral reserves revealed during the exploitation of deposits, which entails a revision of plans of working them, an increase in material inputs and other negative consequences. In view of that the draft law devotes great attention to the quality of geological exploration of mineral resources: it points out the need to secure a rational orientation of work in this field, its efficiency, authentic estimation of the quantity and quality of reserves of basic and accompanying minerals and their components and provides for measures to prevent unwarranted spending due to duplication of work.

The draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth also make provision for stepping up geological economic research and geological prospecting, primarily in the areas where mineral resources are being exploited more effectively than elsewhere.

The intensive development of the mining industry with an ever greater number of mineral deposits being subjected to exploitation, the capacities of mining industry enterprises and the depth of mining operations growing gives rise to the big problem of preserving the land and preventing a disturbance of the ecological balance established over the millennia, not only directly in the mining areas but also in the vast neighbouring territories.

Especial importance attaches to recultivation of the land areas disturbed by mining operations, measures to restore them to a safe condition and fitness for economic use. These areas can be used to meet the needs of agriculture, forestry, and fish breeding, as well as for recreation. Recultivation of land restores to a definite extent the hydrogeological regimes, stops air and water pollution, the drying up and death of vegetation and a decline in crop yields. It also improves the microclimate and the sanitary and hygienic conditions. At present, work is under way to recultivate land areas in the Central Black Earth belt of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia, as well as in the Urals, the Kuznetsk basin, and a number of other mining regions. Recultivation of land, however, is being conducted on an inadequate scale yet. Recultivation is a vitally important problem, and its solution is motivated by economic and social requirements. Therefore, the draft Fundamentals make provision for compulsory recultivation by all users of mineral resources.

Further improvement of the well-being of the people is inseparably bound up with measures to promote public health. The large force of miners have to deal with a difficult object of work—minerals. Their working conditions are unusual. Man penetrating the earth's interior with an arsenal of machines, mechanisms and tools encounters nature's spontaneous forces: underground pressure, ground waters, high temperature, toxic gases, sudden ejections of coal and gas, and shock bumps. Grave danger is posed by unpredictable oil and gas gushers. This is why it is mandatory to secure daily and hourly strict observance of the safety rules of mining operations. Underground operations involving blasting, the formation of empty spaces and displacements in the earth's surface must rule out danger to the population of neighbouring areas.

In view of the importance of safety precautions in mining and other underground operations the draft Fundamentals have incorporated a special section listing the main requirements in this field. Mining operations must be conducted on the basis of modern scientific and technological achievements, care being taken to ensure favourable working conditions. The Ministries, government departments and enterprises subordinated to them, organisations and institutions conducting mining operations are obliged to give more attention to

working out and implementing organisational and technical measures to improve the technology of mining operations and collective and individual safeguards aimed at preventing occupational diseases and injuries.

The draft deals in detail with the problems of enhancing supervision and control over the utilisation and protection of mineral resources. It provides for widening the powers of the state mining inspection agencies in keeping with modern requirements. These agencies are to be invested with the powers of control over strict compliance by enterprises and organisations with legislation on mineral resources, the rules of their protection and the safety regulations for mining operations, and over comprehensive utilisation of mineral deposits. The state mining inspection agencies are empowered to order a suspension of operations in the event of a violation of the rules of protection of mineral resources or the rules of utilising them, as well as to issue compulsory instructions for correcting violations of such rules, to ban unauthorised use of mineral resources and unauthorised construction in areas of mineral deposits, and to take strict legal action against offenders in accordance with established procedure.

The draft Fundamentals also enhances the role of state geological control in securing highly efficient and exhaustive geological exploration of mineral wealth, comprehensive and economically effective geological prospecting operations, and compliance with the established order and rules of conducting these operations.

The local Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees are to play an important part in ensuring the rational utilisation and protection of mineral resources. Protection and rational utilisation of mineral wealth must be a matter of concern not only to state agencies and enterprises but public organisations as well. Therefore, it is envisaged in the draft that the trade unions, youth organisations, nature conservation societies, learned societies and other public organisations, as well as individuals ought to render assistance to state agencies in implementing measures being carried out in this field.

The draft Fundamentals make provision for the responsibility of persons guilty of violating legislation on mineral resources and of their irrational use.

The developing national economy and its important mining sector are confronting science with ever greater tasks, particularly in the light of the requirements reflected in the draft under consideration. Geological and mining science must develop effective and dependable methods of searching for and prospecting mineral deposits, methods and instruments for authentic control over the completeness and quality of extraction of minerals, technological means of increasing the rate of extraction of solid, liquid and gaseous materials during their production and subsequent processing. A major task is to devise more advanced methods of preventing the harmful impact of mining minerals on the environment, methods and technology of further enhancing the rate of comprehensive utilisation of natural resources, methods of safe conduct of operations and economical organisation of production, as well as developing advanced technology for the mining industry.

It is necessary to develop in every way research into the gas regime and the techniques of averting sudden ejections of gas and coal and open oil and gas gushers, to improve ventilation in ore mines, to study underground pressure, displacement and destruction of rock, as well as to invent new and improve existing technological processes in the mining industry.

The USSR Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology under the USSR Council of Ministers, Ministries and government departments with their scientific research institutes are obliged to take vigorous measures to secure the accomplishment of these tasks.

The development prospects of the mining industry also involve great tasks confronting the engineering, construction, chemical, and other industries. Active and purposeful efforts on the part of the Ministries responsible for these industries must be directed to implementing the measures outlined in the draft under discussion.

Thus, summing up the comments on the draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth, it is important to point out the following.

The main feature of the draft is the legislative enforcement of the principles of planned, comprehensive and rational utilisation of mineral wealth as the determining basis for all activities involving the use

of mineral resources, starting from their geological exploration and designing mining industry enterprises and ending with the extraction and processing of minerals. The implementation of these principles will considerably enhance the efficiency of utilising the country's mineral wealth and improve nature conservation. This purpose is also served by the reinforcement of state supervision and control over the utilisation and protection of mineral resources.

It is for the first time that a Union law formulates so broadly and completely the requirements for providing the most favourable working conditions in mining operations, which, as said in the foregoing, are carried out in an especially hazardous environment. This is yet another striking manifestation of the concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet State for the remarkable people—miners, mining engineers, geologists and other workers—employed in operations involving the extraction and processing of minerals.

The draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth have been published in the press for a public discussion. It has evoked broad comment from workers, collective farmers, engineers, technicians, and collectives of industrial enterprises, scientific institutions and other organisations. An analysis of their letters, of which a large number have been received, has revealed their profound understanding of the great role and significance of the draft under discussion in securing a correct and effective utilisation of minerals, as well as the fact that the main principles of the draft are approved of by the working people throughout the country.

Quite a few interesting comments and suggestions have been made during the discussion of the draft Fundamentals. All of them have been carefully studied, and many of them taken into account in amending the draft. I wish to express my profound gratitude to all organisations and individuals who have taken part in discussing the draft and thereby given substantial assistance to finalising its wording.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my confidence that the discussion at this session on the question of further measures to reinforce the protection of mineral resources and improve the utilisation of minerals, the adoption of the Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Wealth of the USSR and the Union Republics will contrib-

ute to the continued progress and consolidation of the national economy and stimulate a frugal, economical attitude to mineral raw material resources, to the remarkable natural wealth of our great socialist country.

Technological Progress and the Iron-and-Steel Industry

Excerpts from an article in the journal
Steel, No. 10, 1977

THE Soviet people are honouring the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution with new labour achievements, carrying into effect the historic decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU in an atmosphere of moral and political enthusiasm. They keep a proud record of great victories for the ideas and cause of the October Revolution from the storming of the Winter Palace to the present days of intensive construction efforts.

The achievements of the homeland of the October Revolution evidence conclusively that socialism has secured the rates of progress in all fields of social life without precedent in history. Relying on their accomplishments, millions of builders of a new life are confidently advancing towards the frontiers of communist construction outlined by the Party.

Although in the sixty years of the existence of the Soviet State about two decades was spent on wars forced upon the Soviet people and subsequent economic recovery, in 1976 the country's national income was 65 times that before the Revolution. Soviet industrial output has grown 137 times over, and its share in world industrial production has risen from 4 per cent to one-fifth of the total. The well-being of the Soviet people has improved considerably on the basis of the increment in the country's economic potential. Real incomes of workers in industry and construction have grown almost ten-fold and those of peasants fourteen-fold.

As stated in documents of the 25th Party Congress and in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the most important result

of the Soviet people's achievements in translating Lenin's ideas into reality is the developed socialist society built in the Soviet Union. It is precisely the Party's Leninist political line, founded on scientific prevision and supported and carried into effect by the entire people, that has secured the spectacular achievements of the Soviet people and their entry into a new stage of progress.

The fact that a developed socialist society has been built in the country is proclaimed in the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR. It presents an integral picture of mature socialism, its political and economic system, its social development and culture, and its foreign policy. It shows the great accomplishments of socialist democracy of the whole people, the broad rights and freedoms of citizens. The entire Soviet people have unanimously approved of the draft of the new Constitution, all the ideas and conclusions in Comrade Brezhnev's report to the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in May 1977.

At the present stage of communist construction the main direction of Soviet economic development is the continued consolidation of the country's potential, the growth of industrial and agricultural production, the all-round enhancement of the efficiency of social production and improvement of the standards of work performance in all sectors of the national economy on the basis of technological progress. The need for this is dictated by many factors, primarily by the increased socio-economic tasks facing Soviet society, the rapid growth of the country's productive forces, and the enormous scope of production.

Over the last ten years the basic production assets have increased 120 per cent. Industrial output has more than doubled, and capital investments have increased 80 per cent. The technological standards of production facilities, the intensity of technological processes, and the level of mechanisation of work have risen considerably. Essential changes have taken place in the composition of personnel; their general educational standards, specialised training and occupational skills have improved. The role of science has grown markedly, and the impact of the revolution in science and technology on the development of all sectors of the economy has become more profound.

All this makes it possible now to bring into play more effectively the possibilities inherent in the economic, scientific and technological

potential built up in the country so as to accomplish our central task of consistent implementation of the Communist Party's Leninist policy of advancing steadily the material and cultural standards of life of the Soviet people.

The economic tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan are in effect a new stage in building up the material and technological basis for communism. It is planned to achieve a further increment in industrial and agricultural production, construction, transport and communication services. Outlining the target of stepping up considerably the rates of growth of funds used for consumption, the 25th Congress of the CPSU emphasised that the increase in the material demands of society must be met to an ever greater extent by economically advantageous methods, that is, by making effective use of available productive facilities and material resources and by improving product quality.

"To accomplish successfully the various economic and social tasks facing the country there is no other way except a quick rise in the productivity of labour and a sharp increase in the efficiency of all social production," Comrade Brezhnev pointed out at the 25th Party Congress.¹

Dependable supply of industry with raw materials, fuel and energy, and other natural resources is assuming ever greater urgency. The targets for the output of products, capital construction, increasing the profitability of production set in the Tenth Five-Year Plan can be attained provided the assignments for saving financial, material, and labour resources are fulfilled.

The sixty-year experience of the earlier development of socialist production has corroborated the truth of Lenin's instructions to the effect that "advancement of labour productivity requires primarily the securing of the material foundation of large-scale industry: developing the production of fuel, iron, engineering, and the chemical industry."² The pivot of the Party's economic strategy both in the

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 5, pp. 496-497.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 188.

Tenth Five-Year Plan and in the long term is the continued build-up of the country's economic potential, the expansion and radical renewal of production facilities, and the stable, balanced growth of heavy industry.

In the efforts to fulfil these tasks a great role is to be played by the iron-and-steel industry, to which the Party and Government attach prime attention to stimulate its growth and development. This is logical. The extent of meeting the demand of the national economy for ferrous metals, the quality and assortment of the metal output predetermine the rates of economic growth, the structure of national economic plans, and the efficiency of social production.

The main reason for that is that products of the iron-and-steel industry (rolled stock, tubes, hardware and other metal articles) are and will remain in the foreseeable future the main structural material in engineering and construction. The rates of technological progress in the metal-consuming sectors of the national economy depend on the rates of improving the quality and widening the assortment of metal products. For instance, improvement of the performance of equipment, designing of machines with boosted operational regimes (by increasing speeds, temperatures, and specific loads) are made possible by the manufacture of high-strength steels ensuring the dependability of such machines in operation. It is impossible to develop advanced processes of stamping and welding to replace casting, forging and cutting without a substantial increment in the production of sheet metal, economical shaped sections, and rolled stock of greater precision.

The socio-economic tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan demand serious attention on the part of the iron-and-steel industry and predetermine the main ways of its development.

In view of the requirements of the metal balance the production of steel and finished rolled stock is to be increased considerably in 1980. However, as Comrade Brezhnev emphasised at the October 1976 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, to solve the problem of meeting in full the country's demand for metal "exclusively by a quantitative increase in production would be the wrong solution and very costly for the national economy. This is why first priority should be attached to the qualitative aspect of the matter, to advanc-

ing the efficiency of the industry. Enormous potentialities are available here."¹

The main task of the iron-and-steel industry must be improvement of the structure of the metal output, an all-round increase in the production of the most economical types of rolled stock, tubes and hardware, a steady improvement of the qualitative characteristics of products so that the demand of the national economy for metal could be met primarily by bettering its quality and widening its assortment rather than by increasing total output. An increase in the assortment and improvement of the quality of ferrous metals are to save over 5 million tons of metal for the national economy in 1980.

An important task facing the industry in the current Five-Year Plan period is to ensure the balanced development of all subsidiary branches and conversion facilities of the iron-and-steel industry for the purpose of the most complete and efficient use of long operating and newly-commissioned capacities of the metallurgical production cycle.

One of the pressing tasks of the iron-and-steel industry is renewal of the basic production facilities, part of which were built in the years of the early Five-Year Plans and no longer meet the modern scientific and technological standards. In this situation great importance attaches to reconstruction and technological re-equipment of the industry, which will make it possible not only to increase output but also to improve substantially product quality, to reduce the demand for manpower, and to better working conditions. Technological re-equipment is to be carried out on the basis of introducing new, advanced processes and equipment and what is most important, of further perfecting the structure of production.

The increase of the economic value of raw material and fuel resources requires of the iron-and-steel industry special attention to the question of reducing materials consumption in manufacturing products.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1978, Vol. 6, p. 149.

In a message to the participants in the seminar of Party and economic executives assembled to analyse the experience of enterprises and construction projects in the Chelyabinsk region, Comrade Brezhnev emphasised that "strict economy and frugality are an inalienable feature of socialist economic management, an important prerequisite for the country's continued economic progress and for advancing the well-being of the people."¹

It is more advantageous for the national economy to save raw materials by advancing production than to produce the same quantity of raw materials additionally. As shown by estimates, a 1 per cent improvement in the use of production facilities saves 350 million roubles of capital investments. It is planned to improve the profit performance of the industry by at least 30 per cent in the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan by advancing the efficiency of production.

All this is evidence of the great part played by the working people employed in the iron-and-steel industry in fulfilling the plan of national economic development for the period 1976-1980.

The Soviet iron-and-steel industry rightfully holds the leading place in the world. Today the Soviet Union manufactures more iron, steel, rolled stock and tubes, iron, manganese and chrome ore, coke and refractories than any other nation.

The Soviet iron-and-steel industry has modern high-production technology at its disposal. The average capacity of smelting units built over the last 10 years has grown 50-150 per cent. The industry has in service blast furnaces with a capacity of 2.2 and 4 million tons of iron a year, 350-ton oxygen converters, rolling mills with an annual capacity of up to 6 million tons, high-powered agglomeration and coking batteries.

Soviet steel makers have made a significant contribution to technological progress. The achievements of Soviet metallurgical scientists are being studied and applied on a widening scale in the industrialised and developing countries.

The influence of the Soviet iron-and-steel industry on the industrial development of other socialist countries is steadily growing. The

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 6, p. 419.

iron-and-steel industry in these countries is making rapid progress with the aid of Soviet metallurgists. In conformity with a resolution of the 30th session of Comecon, work is under way to draw up a long-term target-oriented co-operation programme for 10–15 years in the field of ferrous metallurgy.

The formation and development of the Soviet iron-and-steel industry have been closely bound up with the efforts of the Party and people to build socialism and to establish the material and technological basis for communism.

It will be recalled that the young Soviet Republic inherited from Imperial Russia a technologically and economically backward iron-and-steel industry. In 1913 Imperial Russia manufactured a mere 3.6 million tons of rolled stock with roofing and section iron, rails and boiler sheet making up the bulk of the output. For total steel production Imperial Russia lagged by more than 20 years behind the United States, and by 17 years behind Germany and Britain. "With regard to iron, one of the main products of modern industry, one of the foundations, one might say, of civilisation, the backwardness and savagery of Russia are particularly striking," Lenin wrote in his time.¹

The economic dislocation caused by the imperialist war, the foreign intervention, and the Civil War brought the iron-and-steel works almost to a standstill with a sharp fall in ferrous metal output, which was low as it was. Describing the state of iron-and-steel industry in that period, Lenin said: "In this respect our situation is particularly grave. We are producing perhaps a mere 6 per cent of what was produced in prewar time. Such is the devastation and poverty to which Russia has been reduced by the imperialist war and the Civil War."²

To defend the gains of the socialist revolution it was necessary to solve within a record time the problem of rehabilitating the iron-and-steel industry and supplying the country with metal. Of all the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 377.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 319.

branches of heavy industry the iron-and-steel industry was the hardest to restore in view of the enormous investments involved.

Therefore, from the early days of Soviet government and throughout the history of our socialist state the Communist Party has invariably laid emphasis on the importance of the iron-and-steel industry for the national economy and determined the tasks in developing ferrous metal production in the country.

Immediately after the end of the Civil War the Party focused its attention on the rehabilitation and development of the iron-and-steel industry. It was pointed out in Party documents of that period that "in the field of advancing state industry the major task in the coming period is advancing the iron-and-steel industry."¹

As a result of stubborn work the Soviet iron-and-steel industry had attained the prewar level in steel output—4.3 million tons—already by 1928. However, the restoration of old steel works along with their partial modernisation could not eliminate the techno-economic backwardness of the industry and ensure the fulfilment of the tasks set in Lenin's State Plan of Electrification of Russia (GOELRO).

The fulfilling of such tasks as industrialisation of agriculture, the technical reconstruction of transport, the strengthening of the Soviet Union's defence capability required an acceleration of the development rates of the iron-and-steel industry on the basis of a radical modernisation of operating capacities and building new giant steel-works. The main direction of the development of the iron-and-steel industry in that period was building up productive capacities and restructuring the assortment of metal products.

In the years of the prewar Five-Year Plans (1928–1940) the Soviet people built by heroic efforts seventeen new iron-and-steel works, and modernised the overwhelming majority of operating plants, which made it possible to increase the output of iron 350 per cent, steel 330 per cent, and rolled stock 280 per cent in 12 years. More than 90 per cent of the metal output was produced by new and modernised plants. The development of the iron-and-steel industry in the southern areas and the Urals, the establishment of a steel-manufacturing region in the East of the country, using ore mined in the Urals and

¹ *Resolutions of the CPSU . . .*, Moscow, 1970, Vol. 3, p. 41.

coking coal of the Kuznetsk basin enabled the Soviet Union already at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan to become one of the world's few countries to reproduce the productive facilities of the national economy, relying on their own resources.

During the years of the early Five-Year Plans the country established anew, in effect, such branches of the iron-and-steel industry as the production of high-grade steel, ferroalloys, coke and chemical products and refractories. The raw materials base of the iron-and-steel industry was widened considerably. Already at the end of the First Five-Year Plan (1932) the first installations were commissioned at the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk complexes, and in 1940 the works in the East of the country accounted for nearly one-third of the total steel output.

For the total output of ferrous metal the Soviet Union as early as the end of the Second Five-Year Plan confidently moved to third place in the world behind the United States and Germany, and accounted for almost one-seventh of world production.

For its technological standards the Soviet iron-and-steel industry gained closely on the most advanced countries, and even surpassed them for a number of techno-economic indicators. The new, Third Five-Year Plan faced the Soviet iron-and-steel industry with new breath-taking tasks, primarily in the field of increasing the output of quality metal, wide-scale automation of productive processes and mechanisation of arduous jobs. Already in the first half-year of 1941 all qualitative indices of the operation of the industry were much improved.

The Great Patriotic War interrupted the steady development of the Soviet economy. The economic and defence potential built up in the years of the prewar Five-Year Plans, however, played a crucial part in the Soviet people's victory over the Nazi invaders.

The attack of Nazi Germany caused enormous damage to Soviet industry, particularly the iron-and-steel industry. In the latter half of 1941 the output of rolled stock fell to one-third. To compensate as much as possible for the losses in production it was mandatory to relocate the iron-and-steel industry to the East in a record time.

Thanks to their superior courage, excellent organisation, dedication and profound patriotism Soviet steel makers succeeded in check-

ing the decline in the output of ferrous metal as early as March 1942. In the years of the Great Patriotic War, 10 blast furnaces, 29 open-heart furnaces, 16 electric furnaces, 15 rolling mills, and 6 tube-rolling mills were built at the eastern iron-and-steel plants. The first sections of the Chelyabinsk steel and tube plants, the Kazakh and Uzbek steel works, the Magnitogorsk sizing mill, the Aktyubinsk and Kuznetsk ferroalloy plants, and a number of other enterprises were put into service in war time.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of war time the Party and Government displayed daily concern for the needs of the iron-and-steel industry. In its resolution of 7 February 1943 the State Defence Committee declared: "Orders of the iron-and-steel industry shall be a matter of top priority for all People's Commissariats."

Soviet steel makers were doing their utmost to bring nearer the day of victory. In war time the output of rolled stock in the East grew 57 per cent over the 1940 level. Already in 1942 the production of high-grade rolled stock at the eastern plants exceeded the prewar total by 6 per cent, and towards the end of the war by 30 per cent. Considerable success was achieved in mastering new lines and types of production. At the Nizhni Tagil and Serov plants ferrochrome was smelted in blast furnaces, and steel makers of the Urals learned to manufacture high alloy steel in large 185-ton open-hearth furnaces, while steel rollers of Magnitogorsk produced armour plate on blooming mills.

In that most difficult war in the country's history the Soviet people performed a heroic exploit mankind had never known before. Not only did they defend their freedom and independence but they also contributed decisively to saving European and world civilisation from destruction by the Nazi barbarians.

The ravages inflicted by war on the iron-and-steel industry caused a drop in output to the level of 1933. The Nazis had destroyed completely or partly 62 blast furnaces, 213 open-hearth furnaces and 248 rolling mills.

As soon as they changed over to peaceful work the Soviet people demonstrated heroic dedication in rebuilding the war-ravaged economy. The postwar Five-Year Plan of economic recovery and development for the period 1946-1950 was fulfilled ahead of schedule; in

1950 the output of ferrous rolled stock surpassed the power level by 59 per cent. The Soviet Union had become the world's second biggest producer of ferrous metals.

The tasks of further advancing all sectors of the natural economy, of improving the standards of life of the Soviet people required still higher rates of production of ferrous metals, particularly scarce and economical types of metal products, an improvement in the geographical distribution of the iron-and-steel industry, and bringing it closer to the sources of raw materials and fuel.

For this purpose in the Fifth and Sixth Five-Year Plan periods the construction of new iron-and-steel centres was launched in the country's central region, Western Siberia, Kazakhstan, Transcaucasia, and in the North-West. The production facilities of operating enterprises increased. Radical changes were made in the technological equipment of the industry. Blast furnaces with a capacity of 1500–2000 m³, open-hearth furnaces with a capacity of 370 and 600 tons, first oxygen converters, continuous steel casting units, high-powered slabbing mills and continuous-action sheet rolling mills were put into operation. The increase in technological facilities was accompanied by an expansion of the assortment and improvement of the quality of metal products.

The level of socio-economic development achieved by the country enabled the Party and the Soviet people to embark on building up the material and technological basis for communism. The iron-and-steel industry was faced with the task of augmenting considerably the output of ferrous metals to meet to a fuller extent the steadily growing demand of the national economy and to enhance the efficiency of metal production and consumption.

Fulfilling successfully these pressing tasks the steelmakers marked the 50th anniversary of the Soviet State with the output of 102 million tons of steel, and on the eve of the 25th Congress of the CPSU they had surpassed the 100-million-ton level in the production of iron and rolled stock, which made the Soviet Union the world's biggest manufacturer of the major types of ferrous metal. These spectacular advances were made twice as fast as in the United States, the biggest capitalist power, which has experienced no war in its territory in the last 100 years.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan period the country's economic potential largely increased, the efficiency of social production advanced, and a further rise was attained in the material and cultural standards of life of the people.

In fulfilling these tasks the central role is played by heavy industry as the foundation of economic development, the advancement of the people's well-being, and technological progress in all sectors of the national economy. Over the period the topmost total indicators of increment in production and improvement in product quality have been attained in heavy industry. The scope of production widened considerably, the technological standards rose, and the material and technical basis has been consolidated.

In the development of the iron-and-steel industry, one of the foundations of modern industry, substantial gains have been made in enhancing the efficiency of production, mainly as a result of technological progress.

The main directions of technological progress during these years have been an increase in the capacities of individual units, greater concentration of production, improvement and intensification of manufacturing processes by means of better preparation of raw materials for smelting, widening the application of oxygen and natural gas in blast furnaces and steel-smelting units, improving steel teeming techniques, stepping up the rates of rolling, as well as mechanising labour-intensive processes and automating the control of technological processes. The result has been an improvement in the use of metallurgical facilities and a 27 per cent growth in the productivity of labour, which made it possible to obtain almost the whole increment in production in the last Five-Year Plan period without increasing the work force.

Forty per cent of the increment in the output of finished rolled stock, more than 60 per cent of steel and steel tubes have been produced with the facilities in operation, while the total output of finished rolled stock has grown 22 per cent and of steel tubes, 28 per cent over the five-year period.

An important factor of technological progress in the iron-and-steel industry is the construction and mastery of the operation of units of large individual capacity. Six large blast furnaces have been com-

missioned, in particular, a unique furnace with a capacity of 5000 m³ which turns out 4 million tons of iron a year. This is as much as the whole of Imperial Russia produced in 1913.

There has been a substantial increment in steel smelting by the most advanced oxygen converter method. Huge smelting shops with converters having a capacity of 300–350 tons have been built. The first section of such a shop built at the Novolipetsk works has a capacity of 4 million tons and continuous steel casting facilities. The total capacity of the shop is to be brought up to 8 million tons. No such large continuous steel casting shops are to be found anywhere else in the world. The process of iron smelting with over 30 per cent oxygen enrichment of blow has been introduced at the works on an industrial scale for the first time in world practice.

High-production broad strip mills with a capacity of six million tons a year with the application of up-to-date automation facilities and computer technology have been built at the Novolipetsk and the Cherepovets plants, and the '3600' sheet rolling mill has been commissioned at the Azovstal steel works.

The Soviet Union leads the world for concentration of production and the capacity of iron-and-steel works. Six large iron-and-steel industry enterprises in 1976 manufactured 39 per cent of the total output of steel in the country.

Over the last five years a wide range of measures have been implemented to increase production of metal of better quality, and new types of products have been introduced. Definite success has been achieved in improving the special characteristics of metal, particularly electrical steels, high-grade alloy steels of electric slag and vacuum remelting and metal with protective coating. There has been a substantial increment in the production of effective types of products in the tube and hardware industries.

As a result of the measures carried out to improve the quality and widen the assortment of rolled stock, tubes and hardware in 1975 more than two million tons of metal was saved in the engineering and construction industries.

The development of the iron ore deposits of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area has been of decisive importance in building up the dependable raw materials basis of the iron-and-steel industry. These

are the world's largest deposits. Lenin in his time emphasised the significance of the deposits of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area for the development of the iron-and-steel industry.

The Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU indicated: "To begin the construction of a new industrial complex of national importance on the basis of the mineral resources of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area."¹

In our day the prevision of the great Lenin has come true. On the basis of the deposits of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area large mining and ore-dressing enterprises are operating, which are fitted out with up-to-date opening, transport, and agglomeration equipment. Crude ore is mined by the highly effective open-cast method. At present the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly basin accounts for 16 per cent of the national production of commercial iron ore. The development of the deposits of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area solves the problem of supplying high-quality prepared iron-ore materials to the iron-and-steel industries of the Central Region, the North-West, and partly the South and the Urals.

Thanks to the successes of the iron-and-steel industry achieved in the years of the past Five-Year Plans the Soviet Union has advanced to a leading place in engineering, consolidated national defence and moved to the forefront in the exploration of outer space and the uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

At the same time, the development of the iron and-steel industry as one of the key productive forces should be estimated by the degree to which it meets the demand of the national economy for metal products. Whereas in respect of gross output the Soviet iron-and-steel industry is making rapid progress, a number of problems of improving product quality require a solution without delay.

Quality is the key problem in advancing the efficiency of the national economy. The materials of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the resolutions of the October 1976 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee attach tremendous socio-economic significance to this problem. Indeed, the greater the useful consumption value of products, the less of them are required to meet in full the

¹ *Resolutions of the CPSU . . .*, Vol. 10, p. 411.

existing demand and hence the more resources are released for the continued progress of Soviet society.

The guidelines for the development of the national economy of the USSR for the period 1976–1980 have faced the steel makers with the following task: "To improve considerably the quality and widen the assortment of metal products saving thereby five to six million tons of metal in the national economy in 1980. To increase 50–100 per cent the output of effective types of metal products..."¹

The Five-Year Plan provides for a wide range of measures to improve the consumption characteristics of metal: to increase its strength, plasticity, resistance to corrosion, heat and cold dependability and length of service, to improve its various special properties, to introduce new types of products ensuring minimum costs of metal working.

"It should be emphasised, however", said Leonid Brezhnev in a message to the seminar of Party and economic executives for the study of the experience of industry and construction projects in saving ferrous metals in the Chelyabinsk region, "that labour collectives have large latent reserves and have not yet taken full advantage of their great possibilities to widen further the output of high-quality effective products, to cut losses and waste of metal at all stages of its production and consumption. At certain plants capacities used to increase the output of progressive product types are still put into operation behind schedule and slowly mastered."²

One of the main requirements of the national economy is a substantial increment in the production of sheet rolled stock required for developing the motor industry and ship building, agricultural, transport and power engineering, pipeline transport, the manufacture of consumer goods, etc. The demand for cold-rolled sheet and tin plate and various types of sheet rolled stock with protective coating is growing especially rapidly.

The most effective way of widening the range of properties and characteristics of metal products is thermal reinforcement, which increases the strength of rolled stock and improves its fatigue character-

istics, reducing thereby the weight of metal structures and machines by 15–30 per cent. Simultaneously steel acquires high resistance to brittle failure at below zero temperatures, which is especially important for the industrialization of Siberia and areas in the Far North. In the coming five years the output of heat reinforced rolled stock will almost double.

An important part in reducing metal consumption in machine-building and construction is played by increasing the output of low-alloy steels, including vanadium microalloy steels. As a result of the accelerated growth of the production of rolled low alloy steel alone 1.5 million tons of metal is to be saved in 1980 as compared with 1975.

In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period a large programme is contemplated for developing quality metal production. New high-power electric arc furnaces, shops for the manufacture of extra-pure metals and alloys with special properties, new capacities for production of cold-rolled stainless and electrical steel, new hot rolling mills, as well as additional capacities for production of alloyed structure rolled section steel will be built and commissioned.

The implementation of a broad programme for advancing the quality and widening the assortment of ferrous metals will create objective prerequisites for reducing metal consumption in the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan in engineering and metal-working by 14–16 per cent and in construction by 5–7 per cent.

To improve the efficiency of production and product quality in the current Five-Year Plan period the rates of technological modernisation of the iron-and-steel industry are to be stepped up. The increase in the capacities of individual metallurgical units and the withdrawal from service of a number of obsolescent units will yield a considerable economic effect.

Special attention will be given to reconstructing and modernizing operating capacities to raise the technological standards of the industry at lower costs than those of new construction.

The high effectiveness of the reconstruction and expansion of enterprises using many operating facilities of general plant and equipment is evidenced by the experience of the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel complex, where steel-smelting capacities were doubled with specific

¹ *Resolutions of the CPSU...*, Vol. 12, p. 196.

² L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 6, p. 420.

capital investments being almost 20 per cent lower than those in the construction of new plants.

The construction of new units will be carried out mainly at operating enterprises.

About 20,000 million roubles has been allocated to perform the programme of capital construction in the iron-and-steel industry. In this situation the problems of raising the efficiency of capital investment in the industry acquire added urgency. "To build quickly, economically, and on a modern technological basis, such are the ingredients of high efficiency in capital construction,"¹ Comrade Brezhnev pointed out at the 25th Congress of the CPSU. It is important to prevent a dispersion of capital investments and concentrate facilities and forces at projects nearing completion.

The accelerated construction of large iron-and-steel projects is exemplified by the building of the complex of oxygen converter shops at the Western Siberian and the Novolipetsk steel works.

The effectiveness of capital investments largely depends on the length and quality of designing. It is precisely at this stage of building new projects that their technological standards, construction costs, prime costs and other economic indicators of future production are determined.

The main way of advancing the efficiency of production and product quality is scientific and technological progress. Therefore, in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period it is particularly important to accelerate the application of scientific and technological achievements in production, which enables a considerable cut in material and manpower inputs and an improvement in the economic results.

In the iron-and-steel industry technological modernisation is to be effected through the accelerated development of the oxygen converter method of steel smelting and electric furnace smelting. The share of oxygen converter steel in the total output of 1980 will near 35 per cent. At the same time, there will be a marked increment in the output of low alloy and alloy steels smelted in converters. In rolled stock production a new method of controlled rolling will be applied

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Levin's Course*, Vol. 5, p. 500.

on a broad scale, in which plastic deformation combines with phased reinforcement, dislocation processes and automated rolling processes.

The tasks in accelerating scientific and technological progress demand a close link between science and production, enhancing the effectiveness and the quality of work of scientific research organisations, concentration of their attention on large programmes of fundamental and applied research to create the necessary scientific potential for the continued development of the industry. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period a broad programme is to be implemented to solve the key scientific and technological problems facing the iron-and-steel industry with the assistance of industrial and academic institutes covering all stages of iron and steel production. The problems of flow line and automated production hold an important place among them.

Scientific and technological progress in this country is called upon to solve the important social problem of reducing to a minimum all types of arduous work and of securing all-round development of the creative character of labour. Intensification of productive processes and enhancement of the requirements for the control and quality of products are also impossible without the application of automated facilities.

The fulfilment of the tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan in the iron-and-steel industry will considerably augment the country's economic potential.

Attaching great significance to the development of the iron-and-steel industry the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministries have adopted a resolution 'On Measures for the Continued Development of the Iron-and-Steel Industry in Accordance with the Decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.' It contains the guidelines for developing this industry in the coming few years and outlines the specific measures to provide favourable conditions for fulfilling the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan for the output of metal products by taking better advantage of operating capacities, technological modernisation, reconstruction and automation of production facilities as well as by commissioning new capacities on time.

In this resolution special attention is given to the most complicated problems involved in advancing the industry, primarily to securing on-schedule commissioning of main productive capacities, developing metallurgical engineering and building organisations, reinforcing repair facilities, enhancing the technological standards of production and product quality.

A new manifestation of the constant concern of the Party and Government for improving the social and living conditions of steel-makers is the extension of additional benefits to personnel of the plants, mines and repair organisations of the USSR Ministry of the Iron-and-Steel Industry. In response to the concern of the Party and Government, Soviet steel-makers and building workers are making every effort to fulfil the assignments of the Five-Year Plan.

The working people throughout the country have joined in a broad-scale socialist emulation drive in honour of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. Steel makers were among the first contingents to join in the socialist emulation drive for marking this red-letter day with new achievements, for surpassing the plan assignments in the anniversary year, for creating dependable guarantees of the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan as a whole. The socialist emulation drive was initiated by the collective of the Magnitogorsk complex, which had won the socialist emulation drive of last year. In the current year the Magnitogorsk steel makers have resolved to produce over and above plan at least 70,000 tons of iron, the same quantity of steel, and 50,000 tons of rolled stock. The complex will master production of thirty new types of rolled stock and five grades of steel and will improve the assortment of its products. The blast furnace operators of the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel complex, the Cherepovets, the Krivoy Rog, and the Petrovsky plants have taken a socialist pledge to manufacture iron over and above plan and called upon all blast furnace operators and the collectives of related enterprises of the industry to launch an emulation drive for overfulfilling government assignments.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev highly appreciated this initiative and stated in his message of greetings: "I have no doubt that your remarkable initiative will be supported by all collectives of other blast furnace departments, by all

enterprises of the industry and that the country's steel-makers will honour the 60th anniversary year of the Great October Revolution with new labour accomplishments."¹

In the course of the emulation drive on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution quite a few other patriotic initiatives of major importance were in evidence.

The initiative of the front ranking steel-makers Mikhail Ilyin, Peter Satanin, and Leonid Samokish under the slogan 'all metal to be made to order, of high quality, at minimum cost' has won broad support at iron-and-steel industry enterprises in the anniversary year. The collectives of twenty-eight enterprises of the industry have joined in the emulation drive for an honourable right to take part in labour shifts completing the output of 150 million tons of steel in the anniversary year.

The progress of the socialist emulation drive in honour of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution shows that the steel-makers will accomplish the central task set by the 25th Congress and the October 1976 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee: to make the Tenth Five-Year Plan an advance in production efficiency and quality to secure the continued growth of the economy and the well-being of the people.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 6, p. 310.

Sixty Years of Progress since the October Revolution

An article from the *USSR* magazine,
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TRULY great events are best seen from a distance. The sixty years which have elapsed since the October Socialist Revolution permit an accurate and full assessment of its significance for the destiny of our country and for the rest of the world.

THE MAIN EVENT OF THE CENTURY

The October Revolution was indeed the main event of our stormy and fast-going age. It was its turning-point, because it opened a new chapter in world history. Up to that moment history had followed a course which had taken shape through centuries: the factory- and landowners exploited the workers and peasants, the colonialists oppressed the enslaved peoples, a handful of people who did not bother to create any values wallowed in wealth and luxury and held in their hands all the reins of state power, while millions of working people who were producing all these values suffered from illiteracy, hunger, and disease.

The October Revolution of 1917 demonstrated that life could be different—without social and ethnic oppression—that it was possible and, what was more important, historically necessary to build a just, truly humane social system, under which the working people themselves, that is the people as a whole, would become the sole masters of their lives. Thinking of the 'new day of mankind', as the great French humanitarian Romain Rolland described the October Revolution, one thinks of Lenin, the man who opened this new day for

mankind. For long years after he had started out in life as a professional revolutionary Lenin mustered forces for a socialist renovation of Russia. To accomplish a socialist revolution it was necessary to have a revolutionary party equipped with an advanced theory, and organically linked to the people, the working class. Lenin founded such a party. It inspired and organised the October Revolution, which abolished private ownership of the means of production and assumed responsibility for the country's destiny.

Lenin saw the central task of the socialist revolution in building a new life. In his idea, the proletariat was immediately called upon to begin the construction of socialism, using as an instrument its state of proletarian dictatorship based on an alliance of the working class with other sections of the working people. Lenin gave the Party and people a scientifically grounded plan for building a new society. This plan provided for socialist industrialisation of the country, collectivisation of agriculture, the implementation of a cultural revolution, a just solution to the problem of national minorities. The fulfilment of Lenin's plan has converted the Soviet Union into a mighty socialist power. The principal result of this advance is the emergence of a new society, the like of which mankind has never known. Speaking at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that "this is a society with a crisis-free and steadily growing economy, of mature socialist relations, and of genuine freedom. This is a society where a scientific materialistic world outlook prevails. This is a society firmly confident of its future and a radiant communist perspective. Boundless scope for further all-round progress is open before it."¹

DEVELOPED SOCIALISM: A CREATION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The victory of the October Revolution brought about a fundamental change in the fortunes of our country. It saved it from imminent catastrophe, to which it had been pushed by czarism and the ruling anti-patriotic forces waging a long drawn-out sanguinary war. The October Revolution took Russia to a path of truly independent devel-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 5, p. 548.

opment, scientific, technological, and cultural progress. Over the last six decades the Soviet people have made an advance equal to centuries of progress. This is by no means an exaggeration: the scale and depth of the transformations effected were so great that they would have indeed required not decades but centuries, even by the most conservative estimates.

This was not an easy and simple matter, but one that required of the working class and the Communist Party the utmost exertion of strength, courage, endurance, revolutionary staunchness and optimism. The old world attempted by every means at its disposal—by force of arms, political and ideological pressure, an economic blockade, a reign of terror, and counter-revolutionary conspiracies—to destroy the Soviet Republic, to thwart the socialist construction effort of its working people. For many years the Soviet Union was encircled by hostile capitalist states and opposed the united front of imperialist powers.

The Soviet people have withstood all trials and overcome all obstacles on the path towards their chosen goal and have achieved truly historic successes.

On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution the USSR Supreme Soviet, meeting in an extraordinary session, adopted a new Constitution of the USSR following a nationwide discussion of its draft. These two events of the current year are closely interconnected. The new Constitution has summed up, as it were, the sixty-year progress of Soviet society and shown what is the country's main achievement on the threshold of this red-letter day. Developed, mature socialism that has been built and become part and parcel of national life—such is the ultimate fact of the sixty-year advance initiated by the October Revolution, and now this historic fact has been recorded in the new Constitution.

Developed socialism implies primarily a powerful economic potential in the hands of the people. The parameters of the present-day Soviet economy may be described at length and in comprehensive detail. I shall confine myself, however, to only a few indicators. The Soviet Union's present output of iron and steel, petroleum (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ore, coal (commercial) and coke, cement, tractors (in terms of total engine power), diesel and

electric locomotives, cotton, mineral fertiliser, and many other product items characteristic of a nation's industrial potential is greater than that of the most advanced capitalist state, that is the United States.

Soviet industry is developing on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific and technological progress. Nuclear reactors and space ships, the most sophisticated electronic computers and powerful hydraulic turbines, unique machine-tools and a variety of chemical products—in fact, there are no articles that Soviet industry cannot manufacture.

The maturity of Soviet science and engineering and the power of Soviet industry are strikingly illustrated by the fact that the Soviet Union has blazed the trail into outer space and pioneered the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The achievements in agriculture are also impressive. In Soviet years its output has grown more than four-fold. This is the result of establishing large-scale agriculture based on modern technical facilities.

Speaking of the present Soviet Union it is worth recalling what we began with. This will permit an authentic assessment of the progress made and of the advantages of the socialist system. The Soviet Union's national income is 65 times that of 1913, when Imperial Russia's economic development reached its peak. Sixty years ago the Soviet Union accounted for slightly over 4 per cent of world industrial production, whereas today its share has grown to one-fifth. One can realise the enormity of this indicator in physical rather than percentage terms, considering the growth of world industrial output over the period.

Another two comparisons. Before the Revolution about three-quarters of the population was illiterate. Today more than three-quarters of the personnel employed in the national economy have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education. The Soviet Union has over 1,250,000 research workers, which is 108 times more than before the Revolution.

On the basis of the dynamic growth of social production, developed socialism ensures steady improvement of the living standards of the people and grants members of society such socio-economic benefits that capitalism could not, cannot and will never be able to afford.

Soviet citizens have long enjoyed the right to work, rest, free education, material security in old age, etc. The new Constitution has substantially widened the socio-economic guarantees of the rights of Soviet citizens. For instance, the right to work has been supplemented with the right to choose a profession and the place of work. The right to health care, housing, and cultural benefits has been given the force of law.

The path of the October Revolution is a path of democracy. In the conditions of the mature new system it is given unprecedentedly broad scope. Today practically the whole adult population is involved in the management of the affairs of state and society, primarily through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which are a model of genuine sovereignty of the people. They pursue all their activities in public, before the eyes of the people, which has been made law by the Constitution.

A large and vigorous body of activists—over 30 million voluntary assistants and enthusiasts—has formed around the Soviets. They help the plenipotentiary representatives of the people (whose number runs to over 2,200,000 in the Soviets of various levels) to handle government affairs; they keep the Soviets informed of the people's life and by their active participation contribute to the practical solution of pressing problems. This fact alone is enough to show the truly democratic essence of Soviet government.

The development of socialist democracy is also expressed in the growing part played by public organisations and in the widening of their rights. The trade unions, the Young Communist League (Komsomol), the co-operatives and other mass organisations are actively involved in management of the affairs of state and society, in solving political, economic, and socio-cultural problems. The trade unions are assigned an important part in managing the Soviet economy. No question involving production, the conditions of work and living, and the social development of labour collectives is solved without the agreement of a trade union, let alone contrary to its opinion.

Lenin's Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People adopted soon after the victory of the October Revolution of 1917, and later fully incorporated in the first Soviet Constitution, proclaimed among other principles the institution of a free and voluntary union of nations in a united state.

Today, six decades later, this union of free socialist nations is demonstrating its strength and vitality. The Leninist policy towards national minorities and its practical implementation have ensured the actual equality of all nations, large and small, of which there are over 100 in the Soviet Union. Many people backward in the past have established their own statehood, built up an advanced economy and national culture, and raised a large body of national personnel in all fields of the economy, science and culture. The socialist brotherhood of working people cemented by their common interests and ideals has been practically embodied in a new, essentially international, community of men—the Soviet people.

In the course of communist construction, the process of all-round integration of all Soviet nations is going ahead. In any labour collective, people of different nationalities are working hand in hand in their common cause; international friendship has become part of their way of life.

The problem of nationalities is one of the most complicated problems of social development. Soviet experience provides an attractive example of its solution.

THE MAN OF THE NEW WORLD

The remarkable qualities of Soviet citizens—patriotism, feelings of solidarity with their class comrades in other countries, ideological dedication, a keen sense of justice, collectivism and comradeship, industry, optimism, active life principles, intolerance of social and ethnic oppression—have taken shape in the process of communist construction, in work for the benefit of society. These and other aspects of the character and behaviour make up the image of Soviet citizens, builders of a new world.

It was these people who in less than twenty years not only restored Russia's economy ravaged by the First World War and the Civil War but also built up the material and technological basis of socialism and raised the army which repelled the repeated attempts of the imperialists to destroy the workers' and peasants' state by force of arms.

Let us recall the war against Nazi Germany. The Soviet people courageously and staunchly defended their country and the socialist system, regardless of their sacrifices, and brought the nations of Europe liberation from the Nazi yoke. Our country gave twenty million lives for that victory.

Let us recall their persistence and heroic efforts in raising from the ruins the towns and villages, factories and collective farms destroyed by the Nazis.

Let us turn, finally, to their day-to-day work of the present. The daily efforts to implement the Tenth Five-Year Plan (1976-1980), the nationwide socialist emulation drive for excellent workmanship and fulfilling production assignments ahead of schedule, the implementation of gigantic construction projects, such as the Baikal-Amur Railway, the development of Western Siberia, the non-black earth zone of Russia, express the social, civic maturity of Soviet citizens and their sincere desire to contribute as much as possible to the national cause.

I wish to make special mention of such a quality of Soviet citizens, an internationalism cultivated in them by the socialist way of life. Soviet citizens are brought up in an atmosphere of friendship and brotherhood of people of different nationalities. There is not, nor can there be, any preaching of national superiority or national egoism in Soviet society. This is why the hearts of Soviet citizens are open to the concerns, joys and sorrows of working people wherever they may live. This is why they feel solidarity with the fighters for freedom, democracy, and socialism in other countries and continents, and it is not simply ideological solidarity but one that implies all-round practical assistance to them.

As Leonid Brezhnev declared at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union's attitude to the complicated processes within the developing countries is clear and definite. Respect for the sacred right of every people, every country, to choose their own independent path of development is an immutable principle of Leninist foreign policy. The Soviet people, however, do not conceal their views: in the developing countries, as anywhere else, they are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence and regard their peoples as their friends and comrades in a common struggle. The Soviet Union gives its full support to the legitimate aspirations of the

young states, their determination to rid themselves completely of imperialist exploitation and to use their national wealth to their best advantage. "Our Party", General Secretary Brezhnev said, "supports and will support the peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not seek advantages for itself, or hunt for concessions, or crave for political domination, or demand military bases. We act as we are bidden by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions."¹

THE UNBREAKABLE LINK OF THE TIMES

The October Revolution stirred socialist revolutions in a number of countries in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, and helped create the national liberation movement, which has destroyed the disgraceful colonialist system. The socialist revolutions gave birth to the world socialist system, which has become the decisive force of today.

The significance of the October Revolution for revolutionary change in other countries lies in that it has blazed the trail, revealed the universal laws of building a new society operating irrespective of national distinctions. Leadership of a revolution by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, an alliance of the proletariat with all working people, the peasantry first and foremost, the enforcement of socialist ownership of the means of production—these and other laws have a global character, since without them socialism does not and cannot exist. This is shown by the record of the Russian revolution and confirmed by later revolutions of this century.

Celebrating the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet people are satisfied to know that their alliance with the fraternal socialist countries is being filled with new lifeblood, that co-operation with them is growing stronger in all spheres: the economy, culture, politics, and ideology. The Soviet Union values very highly its brotherly accord with its socialist allies and regards concern for

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 5, p. 461.

consolidation of the unity of the socialist community of nations as a matter of top priority.

The Soviet Union contributes to developing and advancing the time-tested forms of multilateral co-operation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Speakers at the XXXIst session of Comecon, held in the middle of the anniversary year, expressed their high appreciation of the role and experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people in building the world's first socialist state, in strengthening the unity of the fraternal socialist countries, in promoting peace and the security of nations. The fact that the nations of the socialist community are showing in practice the advantages of socialism over capitalism in the sphere of material production is to the credit of all members of the community, in particular the Soviet Union, which has the largest economic potential among them.

THE HERALD OF PEACE AMONG NATIONS

The first words of the Soviet Republic born at a time when the First World War was still raging were: 'Peace to the Nations!' During all later years the homeland of the October Revolution was loyal to this supreme principle of its foreign policy. This has found expression, in particular, in the Soviet Union's foreign policy line charted by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, which has rightly been named a Peace Programme. The implementation of the instructions of Party Congresses, which epitomise the Soviet people's commitment to peace, has led to an appreciable improvement in the political climate of the world. Today *détente* is becoming a leading trend in international affairs. Although far from everything has been done in this field, and we and our partners are still faced with no less difficult efforts, what has been achieved warrants an optimistic outlook for the future. Today, when national arsenals contain weapons of immense destructive power, and the level attained by science and technology makes it feasible to develop new, even more powerful overkill weapons and weapons systems, confrontation and the arms race pose a mortal danger to the world's nations.

There is another, just as convincing, argument in favour of *détente*, the policy of peaceful co-existence of states having different social systems. The Cold War stifles economic and cultural exchanges, while *détente*, on the contrary, opens up broad opportunities for mutually beneficial economic co-operation. The Soviet Union is interested in such co-operation, of course, by no means because it seeks to take advantage of it to 'overcome its technological lag', as it is sometimes alleged in the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union is not an industrial province but a highly developed country. It is capable of manufacturing everything that it needs, but the Soviet people are willing to make greater and more effective use of the advantages of the international division of labour.

The Soviet Union is in favour of developing trade and economic co-operation with all nations, naturally, on the principles of parity, without discrimination or dictation, without attempts to use such co-operation as an instrument for interference in its internal affairs.

The Leninist policy of peace, international security, and broad international co-operation has been elevated to the status of a supreme national law in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union develops its relations with other nations on the principles of mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force, sovereign equality, inviolability of national frontiers, territorial integrity of states, a negotiated settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for fundamental rights and freedoms, the equality of peoples and their right to shape their own destinies, co-operation between nations, honest compliance with commitments arising from the universally recognised principles and standards of international law, and international treaties concluded by the Soviet Union.

The purpose of Soviet foreign policy is to secure favourable international conditions for communist construction in the Soviet Union, to consolidate the position of world socialism, to support the struggle waged by peoples for their national liberation and social progress, to avert wars of aggression, and to implement consistently the principles of peaceful co-existence of states having different social systems.

These foreign policy objectives ensue from the very nature of the socialist state born in October 1917. It has not and cannot have different objectives.

THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD IN THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

As evidenced by history, the victory of the October Revolution was determined by the existence in Russia of a strong Communist Party hardened in class battles. It had been founded and trained in the art of political struggle by the great revolutionary and thinker Vladimir Lenin. On the eve of the October Revolution, at the time of the 6th Congress, which set course for an armed uprising, the Party had a membership of only 240,000. Nevertheless, Russia's communists confidently led the people in the assault on the old state and in the construction of a new state.

In later years as well—in the period of socialist construction, in the war against Nazi Germany, at the time when the Soviet Union entered the epoch of developed socialism—the communists, loyal as they were to Lenin's behests and the traditions of the October Revolution, were invariably in the vanguard of the people. The role played by the Communist Party in the life of society is not diminishing as time goes on. On the contrary, the new and greater scope of construction requires the Communist Party, which concentrates the political intelligence of the people, to outline a perspective for further development, to accumulate and direct the efforts of millions of people towards a common goal.

The election of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the post of President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is an expression of the growing part played by the CPSU in the life of Soviet society. This fact exemplifies the people's high appreciation of his services and personal merits as the leader of the Party. Leonid Brezhnev enjoys universal respect as a loyal Leninist, a tireless fighter for peace and *détente*. He also commands a high international prestige and worthily represents the Party and the Soviet State on the world scene.

The realities of life testify that the Leninist Party, which unites 16 million communists today, is fully equal to its lofty mission. This is evidenced by the decisions of the 25th Congress. The entire development of Soviet society is taking place under its growing impact. The resolutions of this supreme Party forum and its main document—the

Report of General Secretary Brezhnev—have demonstrated the theoretical maturity of the Party and presented a thorough analysis of the vital problems of communist construction. The Congress has outlined the economic strategy of the State at the present stage as steady advancement of the well-being of the people and indicated the means of attaining this strategic goal: building up the economic potential and enhancing the efficiency of social production.

Although only a year and a half has passed since the 25th Congress, one can say on good evidence that the people have accepted its programme decisions as their own and are working enthusiastically to implement them.

The sixteen million Soviet communists are dedicated builders of a new world, competent and active workers, peasants, and intellectuals leading labour collectives not by force of official authority but by reason of personal prestige.

Our country enters the 61st year of its revolution, brimming over with youthful strength, energy, hope, and determination to go ahead along the road chosen in October 1917. The Soviet people are confident that on this road they will win new victories and fulfil new achievements. They are also aware of the difficulties they will have to overcome. There are no easy roads for trail-blazers. They are convinced, however, that the most formidable obstacles have been negotiated. What has been done in the sixty Soviet years is a good jumping-off ground for ascending new summits of progress.

A Triumph for Socialist Democracy

Speech at a meeting with voters of the
Nikopol constituency of the
Dnepropetrovsk Region for elections to
the USSR Supreme Soviet, 9th February
1979

Dear comrades,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Today I have another opportunity to meet working people of the Nikopol constituency on the occasion of my nomination for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

I express my heartfelt thanks to the collectives of Nikopol's Order of Lenin Yuzhnotrubby Tube Plant, named after the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 4/7 'Chiaturskaya' mine, the Marganets manganese ore-dressing complex, named after the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Ukraine, the collective farmers of the Order of the Red Banner of Labour 'Aurora' collective farm of the Nikopol region, who have nominated me for election to the supreme legislative assembly of this country.

I am equally grateful to the collectives of the enterprises and organisations which have supported my nomination.

My great thanks to all comrades who have spoken at this meeting for their warm words and good wishes addressed to me.

I believe that credit for the profound trust bestowed on me by the working people of the Nikopol constituency is due primarily to our native Communist Party, under whose time-tested leadership the Soviet people have built a developed socialist society and are now confidently advancing towards communism.

The Party's Leninist home and foreign policies, the fruitful activities of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau headed by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, enjoy the boundless trust and support of the entire Soviet people. The monolithic unity of the Communist Party and its close, indissoluble links with the people are once again strikingly demonstrated in the period of preparations for the current election to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This cohesion and inviolable unity of the Party and people is the mainspring of all our achievements, a firm guarantee of the triumph of the great Leninist ideals—the ideals of Communism.

The speakers at this meeting referred with great gratitude and pride to the enormous work being carried out by the Party's Central Committee, its Political Bureau, the Soviet government, and personally by Leonid Brezhnev, a loyal continuer of the great Lenin's cause, and expressed their enthusiastic support for the Leninist policy of the CPSU, their heartfelt wishes to Leonid Brezhnev of good health for many years to come, new successes in his indefatigable fruitful activities for the benefit of the Soviet people, peace and communism. It will be a great pleasure for me to convey them to Comrade Brezhnev.

The wise leader of the Party and State occupied with the historic tasks of communist construction and the struggle for peace, Leonid Brezhnev invariably displays keen interest in the life of the working people of the Dnepropetrovsk region, their production affairs, their aspirations and concerns.

Comrade Brezhnev always recalls with especial warmth of feeling their splendid deeds in the restoration and development of the region's economy. In his book *Rebirth* he vividly describes those truly heroic days. Every line in it evokes a feeling of pride in the Communist Party, the Soviet people of fighters and victors, who are building a new society, the most equitable society on earth. This book instils confidence in the triumph of the great Leninist cause.

This book contains the following words inspiring to the communists of the Dnepropetrovsk region: "The Bolsheviks of the Dnepropetrovsk region have stout hearts." Comrade Brezhnev said this at the time when the communists took the lead in the working people's effort to restore the region's economy.

Comrade Brezhnev is firmly confident that today, at a new stage in the country's development, the communists of the region will be as before in the vanguard of fighters for implementing the Party policy, the plans of communist construction.

He is convinced that the working people of the region will work well in the closing years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan for the benefit of our socialist motherland, in the name of communism.

The elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet will be held in an atmosphere of great political and labour enthusiasm, tense efforts by the Party and people to fulfil the programme of communist construction.

The years which have passed since the last elections have witnessed important political events both at home and abroad.

The most important event in the life of the Party and country was the 25th Congress of the CPSU. Implementation of the tasks formulated by the congress has become the main purpose and the main content of the activities of the Party and people. Experience has proved convincingly that at its 25th Congress the Party planned a correct, Leninist policy. It fully agrees with the interests of the people, the current stage in the construction of communism, the great cause of the struggle for peace and the happiness of the working people.

The celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will remain impressed as an unforgettable event in the memory of each of us. It became a vivid demonstration of the all-conquering force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the inexhaustible potentialities of the socialist system, the triumph of the unbreakable brotherhood and friendship of all nations of this country.

The nationwide discussion and adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR—the fundamental law of the socialist state of the whole people—was of enormous, truly historic significance. The Soviet people and our friends abroad have rightly named this Constitution a manifesto of developed socialism.

The provisions and principles of this great Constitution reveal to the working people of the whole world the advantages of socialism in being, of the Soviet way of life, and of socialist democracy and illuminate the path towards the radiant future of communism.

All these significant events have stirred in the country great political enthusiasm among the masses, stimulated the creativity and intensive work of labour collectives, and were marked with successes in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people have made spectacular progress in many important areas of communist construction. The country's economic potential has grown tremendously. The material and cultural standards of life of the people have been further advanced.

The electoral Message from the Party's Central Committee to the electorate, to all citizens of the USSR, contains quite eloquent and impressive figures illustrating this progress. Each of us remembers them.

In the period 1974-8 industrial output was 40 per cent greater than in the five years before. In the three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan national income, which is characteristic of the overall results of economic growth, increased by over 48,000 million roubles.

Basic assets in all sectors of the economy have grown by 195,000 million roubles. This means that in the short time of three years we have created a production potential equivalent to what the country had in the early sixties.

Over the period since the 25th Party Congress more than 700 large industrial projects have been built, in particular such giants as the Lisitchansk oil refinery, the oxygen converter complex at the Azovstal steel works, the blast furnace at the Novolipetsk iron-and-steel works, and the first section of the Kamaz motorworks. At the end of last year the first section of the Atomash nuclear engineering plant and the first power-generating unit of the Sayan-Shushenskoye power dam were put into service, and the capacities of the Krivoy Rog steel works, the Azot nitrogen plant of Dneprodzerzhinsk and other enterprises of your region were expanded.

Giant territorial production complexes are developing successfully. The enormous oil and gas fields of Western Siberia are being developed at a high rate. The builders of the Baikal-Amur Railway are performing a truly heroic exploit of labour. They have already laid over 1500 kilometres of track and have opened access to the coking

coal deposits of Southern Yakutia, the timber wealth of the Irkutsk region and the Far East of the USSR.

The Soviet Union leads the world in many key economic fields: the output of iron, steel, steel tubes, mineral fertiliser, tractors, diesel and electric locomotives, cement, coal, iron, manganese and chrome ores.

The Soviet people's achievements in the social field are of historic significance. Unemployment has long been non-existent in this country. The Soviet Union has the lowest housing rent in the world. It is a country of universal secondary education. The standard of living and the cultural level of the Soviet people are steadily rising.

These achievements fill our hearts with pride in the labour exploits of the people, in the great accomplishments now in evidence, in our socialist motherland.

The economy of the Soviet Ukraine is also developing dynamically. Last year alone a total of 657,000 thousand million roubles' worth of industrial products were marketed over and above plan in the Republic.

A substantial contribution to these achievements was made by the collectives of industry of the Dnepropetrovsk region, which realized 73,000 million roubles' worth of industrial goods in excess of the plan targets.

I must confess that as your nominee to the Supreme Soviet I was especially pleased to hear today of your progress and the production successes achieved by the working people of the Nikopol constituency.

I would like to say a few words of praise primarily about the workers, engineers, technicians, and managers of the Yuzhnotrubby tube plant of Nikopol, which is one of the country's biggest enterprises in its field. As has been justly noted here, this plant has no match anywhere as regards the variety of production methods, the assortment, labour intensity and fields of application of its products. Tubes manufactured at this plant are well-known at enterprises and organisations of all Ministries and government departments of the country, as well as to firms in many foreign countries.

This is evidence of the high production, scientific and technological potentials of the plant, of the excellent workmanship of its personnel, and strikingly illustrates its special responsibility for meeting the

demand of the national economy for one of the key items of industrial output.

It is a pleasure to note that the communists and all personnel of the plant are fully aware of this and are applying great efforts to fulfil and overfulfil their plan assignments. Over the three years of the Five-Year Plan the collective of the plant has produced more than 30,000 tons of tubes over and above plan. The marketing programme and, what is particularly important, the plan for labour productivity have been overfulfilled by the plant.

My meetings with workers and discussions with leading executives of the plant gave me good reason to believe that in the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan the plant's collective will continue to cope with its tasks effectively and fulfil its assignments and the pledges it has undertaken.

The Marganets manganese ore-dressing complex has also fulfilled ahead of schedule the plan for the three years of the Five-Year Plan for gross output, in particular for ore extraction and marketing. The Nikopol ferro-alloy plant has fulfilled ahead of time the plan for the three years of the Five-Year Plan for marketing and profit performance.

The Nikopol constituency has quite a few other enterprises whose collectives are successfully coping with their production assignments. Among them are the ship repair yard and the mechanical repair plant in the town of Ordzhonikidze, the Alexandrovsky open-cast mine and the Bogdanovsky agglomeration factory of the Ordzhonikidze ore-dressing complex, the furniture and belt-weaving factories in the town of Marganets, and the Bolshevik foundry and mechanical works of Nikopol, to mention but a few.

More than 350 shops, production sections, and teams, over 10,000 workers of the industries of Nikopol, Ordzhonikidze and Marganets, had successfully coped with the programme for the three years of the Five-Year Plan towards the first anniversary of the USSR Constitution. In short, you are doing fairly well on the whole, as I can see. This is an achievement primarily of the remarkable labour collectives innovators and front-ranking production workers, Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations, engineers, technicians and economic executives.

Almost all members of this audience are decorated with orders, medals, and other symbols of labour glory. There are Heroes of Socialist Labour and Laureates of State Prizes in the presidium of this meeting. Everyone of those present here deserves praise as a remarkable production worker, a master of his trade, an activist in voluntary public work, an experienced instructor of the younger generation.

I hail the innovators and front-rankers in production, the initiators of the socialist emulation drive, the shock workers of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. I hail all those who contribute to the might of our great motherland by their labours.

Every work day in this country is marked by splendid deeds and new achievements. "We are advancing on a broad front," Comrade Brezhnev said at the November 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. "The country is being transformed literally before our eyes. The scope of our accomplishments is truly enormous. We also have quite a few problems, of course. We are aware of them, we are constantly at work to solve them, and we will beat them without fail."¹

The November Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee made a profound and comprehensive analysis of the cardinal problems involved in developing the national economy and singled out those that claim special attention from Party, local government and economic bodies and labour collectives.

In the remaining years of the Five-Year Plan important tasks are to be fulfilled in all sectors of the national economy. Workers of the iron-and-steel industry and the fuel and energy complex are to cope with a particularly vast amount of work.

As you know, the November Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee critically examined the situation in these areas of the national economy. There is a lag in the performance of plan assignments for commissioning new capacities production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals and extraction of coal. The additional assignment for oil output has not been fulfilled. Workers in these industries must now concentrate on the effort to overcome this lag.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 7, p. 541.

To cope with the assignments set for 1979 it is mandatory to pay close attention to developing production of manganese and iron-ore raw materials.

Construction on schedule of an electric steel-smelting department at the Donetsk steel works, mastering production of large-diameter tubes for trunk gas pipelines at the Khartsyz tube plant, acceleration of construction and commissioning of an oxygen converter shop at the Dzerzhinsky plant, the '3000' mill at the Ilyich plant, a high-powered coking battery at the Avdeyevsk coke and chemical plant will be of great importance for the national economy.

In the iron-and-steel industry, just as in other industries, an improvement in quality indicators will be of prime significance along with unconditional fulfilment of assignments for volumes of output.

Now it is a matter of high priority to improve the structure of metal output, to secure an increment in the manufacture of the most economical types of rolled stock, tubes and hardware, and to raise the efficiency of metal treatment at all stages of metal manufacturing and metal processing in the engineering industry. This will make for more rational consumption of metal in the national economy and prolong the service life of machines and structures.

We can attain new frontiers of quality in developing the country's iron-and-steel industry only by further accelerating scientific and technological progress. This refers to development of integrated automated units using advanced technology and control systems, to large-capacity electric furnaces for smelting steel and synthetic iron, oxygen converters with undergrate blast to replace open-hearth furnaces.

Much is to be done to introduce on a broad scale continuous steel casting by improving technological processes and by applying combined processes of metal casting and rolling.

The work force of the Yuzhnotrubby tube plant will have to put in a good deal of effort to accomplish quite a few tasks before the end of the Five-Year Plan period. New capacities are to be commissioned, and work is to be completed in reconstructing a number of shops and installations.

Power engineers, builders of oil and gas pipelines, and workers in other sectors of the national economy are expecting the personnel of

this plant and other enterprises of the industry to start manufacturing tubes of still better quality and of greater variety.

Of special importance is mastering full-scale production of new tube types to meet the demand of the national economy, particularly, the oil and gas industries, geological prospecting, engineering, and transport services. There is need to put up the manufacture of tubes with various coatings, including those of zinc, aluminium, plastic, resin, enamel, glass, rubber, and other materials.

The key task the Party has indicated is to enhance production efficiency, to make full and rational use of capital investments, to stiffen in every way austerity measures, to enforce strictly plan schedules, and to raise the productivity of labour.

The industries of Nikopol, Ordzhonikidze, and Marganets are in possession of large latent reserves, which can be tapped to boost output and advance labour productivity. I have in mind above all such large enterprises as the Ordzhonikidze mining and sintering complex and the Nikopol ferroalloy plant. These reserves are not always utilised as much as necessary.

There is another problem that well deserves your attention. With the present enormous scope of producing, processing, and using various kinds of resources, as well as the soaring production costs of each cubic metre of gas, each ton of crude, coal and metal, crucial importance attaches to their maximum economy and rational use.

On a country-wide scale a 1 per cent reduction in material outlays is equivalent to an additional increment in national income by almost 6000 million roubles.

A cut in the fuel consumption rate by only 1 gram at power stations saves the country a total of 800,000 tons of fuel in conventional units.

The plan for 1979 has set stiff quotas for saving resources. It is mandatory to institute, from the early days of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan, stringent control over consumption of electric power and heat, and to take resolute steps against mismanagement and extravagance as soon as they come to light.

Every enterprise and economic body is obliged to fulfil its assignments for saving electric power.

In this connection measures must be taken in good time to secure the technological modernisation of production, broad introduction of advanced technologies, the application of the latest achievements of science and technology, an improvement in the structure of the fuel-and-energy and raw materials budgets of industries. It is necessary to combine rationally different types of fuel, to make fuller use of secondary fuel and energy resources, and to apply waste-free processes on a wider scale.

The struggle for high efficiency and cultural standards of production, for excellent product quality, for saving raw materials, fuel and energy is an immediate task before Party, trade union, YCL organisations, economic executives, and all labour collectives.

To work without slackers, to strive for high performance results, to make best-quality products, to be prudent and economical in using resources, to rely on scientific and technological achievements and the experience of innovators—such are the slogans and guiding principles in the life and work of front-ranking workers today. The working people regard this effort as their high duty. In this way they respond to the Party and Government's concern for their well-being.

The Party and people are constantly at work to advance the standards of agriculture. The Party's agrarian policy, the line it pursues to convert agriculture into a highly-developed and highly-efficient sector of the economy, is being successfully carried into effect. Last year the great battle for grain was won on the fields of the country. A bumper harvest of 235 million tons was taken in. This is an all-time record in the history of crop-farming in this country. The output of a number of other agricultural products has also grown. Livestock farming as well has made appreciable headway.

The farmers of the Ukraine have also come up with heartening results. They have sold the State more than 1000 million tons of grain, and more than 3000 thousand million tons over the three years of the Five-Year Plan. The plans of these three years for the procurement of sugar beet, flax, potatoes, and other vegetables have been fulfilled. The head of livestock and poultry and their productivity have grown in the Republic.

The farmers of the Nikopol, Apostolov, and Tomakov districts have done a very good job. Over the three years of the Five-Year

Plan the farms of these districts have sold over and above plan a total of 170,000 tons of grain, 13,000 tons of vegetables, 11,000 tons of meat, 24,000 tons of milk, and 19 million eggs.

Five thousand farmers of the Nikopol district had fulfilled their assignments for three years of the Five-Year Plan by 7 October, the anniversary of the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR. Among them are Melaniya Semenova, Hero of Socialist Labour and a deputy of the regional Soviet and Vasily Zotov, Hero of Socialist Labour, the leader of a mechanised team on the 'Chkalovsky' state poultry farm, who won the State Prize in 1978 for his outstanding labour achievements. These are two of the many front-ranking farmers known for their exemplary communist attitude to work.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration for their labour exploits and wish from the bottom of my heart new success to the remarkable people skilfully cultivating the fields, to all those who love the land and work on the farm and who by their rich experience are contributing effectively to the nationwide effort to advance Soviet agriculture and further improve the people's standards of living and their well-being in general.

In 1979, the first year of implementing practically the resolutions of the July Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the farmers have many problems and a lot of work is in store for them.

It is planned to surpass the highest level on record in the output of most farm produce items.

The farmers of the Nikopol, Apostolov, and Tomakov districts, and of the Dnepropetrovsk region as a whole, have undertaken highly responsible commitments to boost production and procurement of grain, vegetables, fruit, meat, milk, and other farm produce.

All this requires great organising and mass political education work to be done by the Party, economic and local government bodies, and tense efforts by all farmers and other workers of rural areas.

The immediate task now is to achieve an appreciable growth in the output of meat, milk, and other livestock farm produce.

The crop failures in the last Five-Year Plan period, particularly in 1975, caused grave damage to agriculture. Many regions of the country also experienced difficulties in 1978 with its late spring, rains,

and cool summer. All these factors negatively affected the productivity of livestock farming in 1978, primarily its dairy branch.

At present all favourable conditions are being provided to remedy the situation and overcome the lag of collective livestock farming. There has been an increase in the number of livestock and poultry in the country. The farms are supplied with animal feed better than ever before. By a decision of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the country's areas which have found themselves in a difficult situation caused by bad weather will be given assistance to provide good conditions for wintering livestock and preparing for the next agricultural season.

The main thing to do now is to take advantage of all available opportunities in a skilful and efficient way: to organise intensive fattening of livestock, regular deliveries of livestock to cities and small towns, to achieve an increase in milk yields, and to boost feed supplies. Every collective and state farm and every production unit should give already in the current year an appreciable increment in the production and deliveries of meat and milk. This is a target set by the Party.

Advancing the standards of collective livestock farming and boosting meat and milk production are an all-important task. The Party is mobilising the efforts of all Party, local government, and economic bodies and all working people to accomplish it.

I wish to call your attention to such an important source of additional food supply as subsidiary farming facilities of factories and plants, as well as the household plots of rural residents. In recent years, however, there has been a decline in the number of livestock in individual ownership. This has been the case, in particular, in the Dnepropetrovsk region. Rural residents willing to raise livestock must be given greater aid in acquiring young animals and feed supplies. Every collective or state farmer raising livestock and poultry in their own households is doing useful work beneficial to the nation's welfare.

The scope of agricultural production in this country is truly enormous. In this situation a careful attitude to agricultural produce and its delivery to the consumer with the least possible losses are a matter of growing importance.

"Every communist, every economic and Party executive must feel anxious concern for public property," Comrade Brezhnev said at the Plenary Meeting. "Those who are indifferent to it must be called to account in strict conformity with the Party Rules and Soviet laws."¹

The July Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee drew up a broad and comprehensive programme of further developing agriculture and advancing livestock farming in the country. It envisages a considerable rise in the growth rates of the output of animal produce.

The Party appeals to the communists, Party, local government, and economic bodies, and all working people to multiply their efforts to implement this programme.

The communists, workers, collective farmers, scientists, all working people of the Dnepropetrovsk region, will respond to this appeal with practical action and achieve a faster increase in the production of meat, milk, and other animal produce. There is no doubt about that whatsoever.

The programme of advancing the people's standards of living worked out by the Communist Party is being carried into effect steadily and according to plan. Since the time of the last elections *per capita* income has grown 20 per cent. Over the three years of the Five-Year Plan the increment in the social funds alone has more than tripled their total amount in 1940.

Today as much housing as a city with a population of half-a-million is built in less than a month. Over the three years of the Five-Year Plan about 32 million Soviet citizens have held housewarming parties, and since the last elections 54 million. Many schools, pre-school childcare centres, hospitals, polyclinics, and holiday homes have been built over the period.

Important progress has been made in developing Soviet science and culture. Public education is being improved, as is also the medical service of the population.

Concern for public welfare, for the continued advancement of the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people is the supreme principle of the Party's socio-economic policy. This concern is sensed

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 7, p. 533.

by every Soviet family, every Soviet man, women and child in town and country.

In these pre-election days I have again had occasion to examine at first hand the work of factories and plants in Nikopol, Marganets, and Ordzhonikidze. I was greatly impressed by my meetings with workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, Party, local government, and economic executives. I have seen with my own eyes how well Soviet people work and how much is being done to improve their life and advance their well-being. Housing projects, enterprises, schools, clubs, pre-school childcare centres, shops and multiple service establishments are being built everywhere. Building sites are to be seen in all towns and villages of our vast country. All this wealth is being created by the hands of the people, by the will of the Leninist Party.

The Party is determined to do everything in its power to make the life of the Soviet people still better materially and richer culturally.

In the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan important measures are to be carried out for the continued advancement of the people's well-being. A major part of this programme—an increase in the salaries of workers in the fields of public education, public health, culture, and other non-productive spheres—will be completed. Additional privileges will be granted to veterans of the Great Patriotic War. *Per capita* real incomes of working people will grow 3.3 per cent. A total of 112.3 million square metres of housing is to be built. Along with other measures this will bring about a substantial improvement in the Soviet people's standards of life.

The Party's Central Committee and the Government regard increasing the production, widening the assortment, and improving the quality of consumer goods as a first priority national economic task. It should be admitted that not all problems in this important field are being solved as was planned and, let us face it, as we desire. There have been justified complaints about the unavailability of individual items in shops. The quality of some articles is not yet always good enough to satisfy customers.

The Party's Central Committee and the Government have recently adopted a special resolution defining measures for further increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods.

I wish to emphasise that local Party and government bodies and economic executives should handle affairs in this field with greater initiative and persistence.

It is also important to secure that the funds allocated for building housing, medical and child-care institutions should be used up in good time and to take better advantage of every possibility for improving the working and living conditions and rest and leisure facilities available to the working people.

The tasks set by the Party for the country's economic and cultural development in 1979 demand tense efforts and further initiative on the part of all working people. Broad support ought to be given to the initiative of the front-ranking workers of Moscow and Leningrad, who have pioneered a patriotic movement for fulfilling ahead of schedule the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan by the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth, as well as to the initiative of production collectives in your region, which have launched a broad emulation drive under the motto 'Boost top quality goods output to a maximum.'

The Party calls on all working people in town and country to make new breakthroughs on the labour front, to extend as broadly as possible the socialist emulation drive for fulfilling successfully the plan for the current year and the Tenth Five-Year Plan as a whole.

There is no doubt that the communists and all working people of the Nikopol electoral district will support this militant appeal of the Party and contribute effectively to the continued consolidation of the economic and defence potential of our socialist Motherland.

All our achievements stem from the activities of the Communist Party, which is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. Its role and prestige are growing, and its ties with the masses are strengthening. The Party is confidently leading the people towards communism.

The Party organisations play a steadily growing part in fulfilling all economic and political tasks, in all affairs within labour collectives.

The communists deem it their duty to perform their vanguard role still more actively, to be the spirit and leading force of every collective, to display constant concern for maintaining within it an atmosphere of teamwork, creative quests, and intolerance of shortcomings.

The communists of the Dnepropetrovsk region are known for their splendid traditions. For their development and enrichment great cre-

dit is due to Leonid Brezhnev. We know full well that he values and cultivates in Party members, whichever area of economic or cultural development they may work in, primarily such qualities as communist high-principledness, efficiency, persistence, independent thinking, competence, a keen sense of innovation, an exacting attitude to oneself and to others, an ability to notice and support in good time the initiative and creativity of the masses.

All these are the inalienable features of the Leninist style of work. The fact that this style has become part and parcel of the life of the Party and country for good and all is largely due to the enormous personal contributions of the General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

All the activities of the Party are a model of revolutionary creativity, faithful devotion to the cause of the people, the great ideals of communism and peace.

Loyal to Lenin's behests, the Party and Government are doing their utmost to secure the most favourable external conditions for the Soviet people's work of building a new communist society. Much has been done in this context over the years since the last elections. The Soviet Union's international position has grown stronger, and the prestige of the country and its consistently internationalist Leninist foreign policy has risen still higher.

Comrade Brezhnev is making a truly enormous contribution to implementing successfully the foreign policy line charted by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, to translating into reality the programme of struggle for peace, international security, the freedom and independence of nations. His indefatigable efforts to avert another world war, to make the principles of peaceful co-existence triumph in international relations, to promote friendship and mutual understanding among all nations, his staunchness in upholding the Soviet Union's vital interests, his skill in conducting complex negotiations—all these have won Leonid Brezhnev affection and respect of the Soviet people and worldwide recognition.

Comrade Brezhnev's meetings with leaders of the fraternal parties and states in the Crimea, which have become traditional, have in recent years assumed crucial importance for the continued develop-

ment of co-operation between the parties and peoples of the socialist community of nations. Comrade Brezhnev's recent visit to Bulgaria strikingly exemplified the growing co-operation between the socialist sister nations.

The Party has always regarded the development of friendly relations with foreign nations as the key direction of its foreign policy planning. This is perfectly logical. The stronger the community of socialist nations becomes economically and the greater its unity of action on the world scene, the stronger the positions of world socialism and the greater the influence it exerts on solving the most vital international problems.

As has again been confirmed by the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states held in Moscow in September of last year, the voice of the socialist sister nations is given careful attention everywhere on earth.

It is now almost 34 years that mankind has lived without knowing the horrors of another world war. For this the main credit is due to our country, our Party, and our people. The power of socialism in being, the active foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist sister nations, are a stout barrier to the aggressive ambitions of imperialism.

In the last year or two the world situation has somewhat deteriorated. The enemies of peace were obviously frightened by the steep turn from the Cold War to *détente*, which mankind owes primarily to the persistence, determination and consistency of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies in pursuing their policy of peace and co-operation. The enemies of *détente* have gone out of their way to hold back the progress of *détente* and again to exacerbate the situation, primarily by whipping up the arms race into a new spiral.

As you know, China's present leaders are acting as direct accomplices of the most reactionary forces of international imperialism. They pursue expansionist, hegemonist objectives, seeking a further extension of their ties with imperialist reaction on the platform of a struggle against the Soviet Union and other nations of the socialist community, of opposition to peace and international security.

In an effort to play the 'China card', the U.S. Administration is, in fact, encouraging its NATO allies to sell China military equipment

and technology, thereby making for an escalation of the arms race. This is all the more dangerous as the arms race cannot go on endlessly with impunity. If it is not checked, it may undermine the process of *détente* and plunge mankind into another Cold War.

This is why one of the Soviet Union's key foreign policy objectives is to curb the arms race and achieve a breakthrough in the struggle for disarmament.

The CPSU and the Soviet Government are resolved to do their utmost to strengthen and deepen the process of *détente* and to make it irreversible.

Along with our allies, the sister nations of the socialist community, we will continue to watch vigilantly all the manoeuvres of the enemies of peace and socialism, to strengthen steadily our defence capability, to advance our military co-operation within the Warsaw Treaty framework.

The successes of the hope and foreign policies of the CPSU, all socialist realities, graphically demonstrate the advantages of the Soviet way of life and evidence the steady increase in the country's economic potential, the flourishing intellectual powers of the people, and the advancement of their well-being. The Soviet people have every reason to look to the future with optimism, because they know well that the CPSU and the Soviet Government pursue all their activities for the benefit of peace, for the benefit of man.

The Communist Party is contesting the present elections, as before, in an alliance with non-affiliated candidates. By voting for candidates of this indissoluble alliance the working people will again demonstrate their unity and cohesion with their favourite Party, its Leninist Central Committee, and their unanimous support for the home and foreign policies of the CPSU.

The Party will continue to do everything to advance further socialist democracy, to enhance the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, to promote the ideological and political consolidation of Soviet society, to improve the communist education of the working people, to strengthen the fraternal friendship of Soviet nations.

The recent celebration by all Soviet nations of the 325th anniversary of the Ukraine's reunification with Russia was a vivid demon-

stration of the triumph of the Leninist policy towards nationalities, the moral and political unity of the Soviet people.

Allow me once again to thank you for the confidence you have honoured me with. I can assure you that I will devote all my energies to the great cause of the Party, the cause of the people. There is no higher honour and duty for a communist than service in this noble cause.

Thank you.

Improvement of Management—An Effective Way of Advancing the Efficiency of Social Production

An article in the journal *Communist*, No. 7, 1978

THE supreme goal of our economic policy is steady advancement of the material and cultural standards of life of the people. The Party has clearly defined the ways and means of its achievement. As Leonid Brezhnev pointed out, "these are dynamic and balanced development of social production, enhancement of its efficiency, acceleration of scientific and technological progress, growth of the productivity of labour, all-round improvement of the standard of work in all sectors of the national economy."¹

In implementing its economic policy the Party relies on the powerful economic, scientific and technological potential of society, on an analysis of the central problems of the national economy, scientific determination and consideration of the internal inter-relationships of the entire system of objective economic laws of socialism, their creative application in the conditions of a new stage of communist construction.

The advantages of the socialist system, planned management of the economy, have advanced this country to the frontiers of economic, scientific, technological, and social progress. The Soviet Union is solving a problem of historic importance—one of integrating the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system—and is switching over to intensive

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1976, Vol. 5, p. 493.

methods of development, and has attained a qualitatively new level and scope of production. This has made it possible to begin practical fulfilment of the great task of building up the material and the technological basis of communism.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan is an important stage in implementing the Party's long-term policy of socioeconomic development, of creating communist productive forces. This is another long step in consolidating heavy industry, the foundation of our economy, in advancing the industries manufacturing consumer goods, in developing socialist social relations and the socialist way of life, as well as in safeguarding national security.

The Communist Party is mobilising all working people for continued advancement of the efficiency of social production, for an ever fuller utilisation of the available resources and possibilities of the economy, for improving the standards of work. The emphasis on efficiency and quality is a major component of all economic strategy. Its implementation is not only a scientific, technological and economic task, but also a social and ideological task of advancing socialist social relations and moulding the new man.

The economic policy worked out by the Party should evidently be followed to an ever fuller extent by the economic mechanism and the organisation of economic management in the broadest sense. The Party regards improvement and perfection of the methods of management as an important reserve for augmenting social production and raising its efficiency.

At the present stage the main directions of work in using the organisational reserves for advancing the efficiency of production have been defined in statements of Comrade Brezhnev. "It is our duty", he noted, "to strengthen simultaneously both principles of democratic centralism. On the one hand, it is necessary to develop centralism, erecting an obstacle thereby to the narrow-minded departmental and parochial tendencies. On the other hand, it is necessary to develop the democratic principles, local initiative, to relieve the higher echelons of management of small matters, to secure speed and flexibility in making decisions."¹

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 5, p. 517.

Perfection of the organisational structure of management has assumed great urgency for a number of reasons. The high level of development of society's productive forces, scientific and technological progress demand such management forms that will make it possible to bring into full play the advantages of the planned socialist economy and to secure a considerable growth in the efficiency of the national economy.

A major distinctive feature of the present stage in the art of economic management is a comprehensive approach, which is dictated by the need to coordinate measures to perfect organisational forms and structures with measures for continued development of planning and economic stimulation of production. This is implemented at all levels—from enterprises to the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Over the past few years much has been done in this country to improve the management of industry, to work out and introduce general schemes of management of economic sectors in accordance with resolutions of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government. A changeover has been effected to two and three-stage systems of management on the basis of establishing industrial and production associations; there has been an increase in the concentration of production; the specialisation and co-operation of enterprises have been enhanced; and a further rationalization of economic connections has been achieved.

In the entire system of economic management bodies work is under way to introduce consistently the principle of correct correlation of rights and duties between different stages of economic management, so that every economic executive would be invested with the necessary powers and, bearing full responsibility within their limits, would concentrate on work in his own field.

At the present, 36 Ministries have drawn up and introduced general schemes of management of their respective industries, envisaging a changeover to a two-stage (Ministry—production association or enterprise) or a three-stage system (Ministry—All-Union or Republican industrial association—production association or enterprise). In five Ministries the four-stage system has been preserved as an exception.

Today production associations have concentrated practically the entire output of coal, the manufacture of 92 per cent of motor vehicles and 75 per cent of tractors, more than four-fifths of grain-harvesting combines, two-thirds of all looms produced in the country, the bulk of the output of chemical fibres, electrical engineering products, furniture, footwear, sewn and knitted goods.

In working out and implementing general schemes the problems of building the organisational structures of management were solved in many instances in a new way. The implementation of measures envisaged in general schemes has made it possible to raise the level of concentration of scientific and technological facilities, specialisation and co-operation on the basis of integrating in economic complexes enterprises, scientific research and design institutes and pilot production facilities, which has greatly contributed to the growth of labour efficiency, an improvement in product quality, a cut in prime costs, and a reduction in lead time.

Great work to perfect management has been carried out in the electrical engineering coal, chemical, and other industries. The economic effect produced by implementing general schemes of management under the Ministry of Coal Mining has run to over 130 million roubles, the Ministry of Electrical Engineering, to 125 million roubles, the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building, to over 170 million roubles. Naturally, positive results are achieved only where and when a well-planned general scheme is supported with vigorous organising efforts to carry it into effect, and plans for developing and improving the operation of production and scientific production associations are drawn up and consistently implemented.

In the process of work to perfect the structure of the central apparatus of Ministries great attention was paid to redistribution and more clearcut demarcation of the rights and duties of various stages of sectoral management, enhancing speed and flexibility in the operation of personnel. Wider use has been made of advanced experience in applying modern forms and methods of management, scientific organisation of labour, introduction of electronic computers into the field of management.

All this is evidence of the positive results of the effort to improve management of the national economy. At the same time, it would be

a mistake to ignore the existing difficulties and outstanding problems. As shown by experience, not all of the Ministries have yet made full use of the great opportunities for raising production efficiency offered by the changeover to general schemes of management and the establishment of associations. In many associations no work is being done for continued development, concentration and specialisation of production and for perfecting managerial methods. The initiative of personnel of leading services is still inadequate for rendering concrete assistance to subordinated enterprises.

Close attention should be paid to the functioning of specialised production units and services, because correct organisation of their operation has a large bearing on the stability of basic production. The establishment of production associations, the switchover to a new organisation of management of individual sectors are naturally giving rise to a number of difficulties, but these may not be accepted as a justification for ill-conceived renunciation of well-grounded decisions taken earlier. Attempts to attribute to the new structure of management mistakes committed in planning and in adopting certain organizational and technical decisions are even less tolerable.

Over the last few years important work has been carried out to improve the activities of the central organs of management: the functions of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the State Committee for Construction of the USSR, the USSR State Committees for Science and Technology, for Prices, for Labour and Social Problems have been specified in detail. The powers of Ministries have been widened, and their responsibility for continued development of their subordinate associations, enterprises and organisations has been enhanced.

The central management bodies are increasingly orienting themselves to working out and fulfilling central long-term tasks of economic development, to solving problems common to the entire sphere of activity of a given body; they are being relieved of the burden of current affairs, which are placed under the jurisdiction of economic organisations (complexes, associations). The result of all these measures has been an intensification of inter-sectoral, inter-departmental coordination, and mutual co-operation between all central bodies.

The basic advantage of the socialist economic system is planned management of national economic and social development on the basis of conscious use of economic laws of socialism, of setting in state plans optimum nationwide economic, inter-sectoral and sectoral proportions in the development and distribution of productive forces, combining centralised planned management with encouragement of local economic initiative in each Union and autonomous Republic, region, territory, economic area, a massive socialist emulation drive of the working people, broad introduction of advanced methods of organising work and production.

The planned system of economic management, whose foundations were laid down by the great Lenin, is a brainchild of socialism and an expression of its cardinal advantages. In the years of the Five-Year Plans the Soviet people have earned a splendid record and won a historic victory of worldwide significance by building developed socialist society.

The Party regards planning economic development as one of the major scientific and social achievements of the 20th century and revolutionary practices in transforming social life. Lenin believed that "it is impossible to work without a plan intended for a long period and for serious success."¹

He pointed out the need for a long-term uniform national economic plan. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government invariably devote close attention to perfecting centralised planning as the core of management of the socialist economy, to enhancing the efficiency of the planning bodies, and to strengthening state discipline, being guided by Lenin's instructions concerning the great importance of scientific substantiation and unconditional fulfilment of a uniform state plan of developing the national economy. Great importance is attached to enhancing the role of the USSR State Planning Committee in the system of organs of state administration and its responsibility for the scientific substantiation of plans for economic and social development. At the November 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Brezhnev, referring to the State Planning Committee, emphasised that its powers

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, pp. 153-154.

were being widened and its co-ordinating role was being enhanced. "The very content of planning should be advanced to a qualitatively higher level", he pointed out. "In this connection the State Planning Committee should have a profound comprehension of the many economic problems and find the best ways leading to their solution, combining high responsibility with initiative and bold creativity."²

The work being carried out in this context to improve the organisational structure and methods of work of the State Planning Committee, to concentrate its attention on solving key, long-term problems, to determine the optimum intersectoral and territorial proportions, to secure a balanced character of plans, relieving it of its duty to handle specific problems of current management and distribution of resources, indisputably tends to enhance the role of this body in directing the country's economic and social development.

The activities of the State Planning Committee are being reorganised to secure as much as possible a comprehensive approach to solving scientific, technological, economic and social problems, to enhance the level of planning the development of the national economy as a whole, as well as of interconnected sectors, individual economic areas and territorial production complexes, primarily the West Siberian fuel and energy complex, and the complex of industries in the areas neighbouring the Baikal-Amur Railway, the non-black earth zone, and other regions.

The State Planning Committee is to play a much greater role in coordinating the work of Ministries, government departments, and planning bodies of the Union Republics in drawing up long-term and annual plans, including consideration and approval of the balance of productive capacities for the output of major types of products, the use of these capacities, etc.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers in their resolutions and Comrade Brezhnev in his statements have emphasised that the State Planning Committee bears full responsibility for the stability and balanced character of plans, as well as for drawing up target-oriented and comprehensive programmes,

² L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1979, Vol. 7, p. 537.

for building up reserves and for preventing disproportions in the development of individual industries.

Within the apparatus of the USSR State Planning Committee itself, summing up economic and balancing work is to be intensified. Leading scientists and specialists must be more broadly involved in the work of the State Planning Committee. This will conform to Lenin's idea to the effect that the State Planning Committee "as a collective body of leading experts, scientists and engineers possesses, in effect, the best information for a correct judgement on matters."¹

At the same time, work is under way to accomplish the task of continued strengthening of planning discipline in all sectors of the national economy, of enhancing the responsibility of leading executives of all ranks for strict fulfilment of plan assignments, for guaranteed stability of plan indicators.

Of special importance are measures to set up a uniform system of long-term and current plans comprising a comprehensive programme of scientific and technological advance for a long-term perspective, guidelines for economic and social development for ten-year periods, five-year plans for economic and social development of the USSR (with annual assignments), and an annual plan. This will allow uninterrupted planning work, timely drawing up and implementing large programmes for national economic development. It should be emphasised at the same time that Five-Year Plans are to remain the main form of planning all economic activity. At the present stage, in view of the much widened scope of social production, the increase in the number of industries and large enterprises, still greater importance attaches to Five-Year Plans, to maintaining the proportional and balanced development of the economy, and the regular and rhythmic operation of every socialist enterprise. A realistic way of increasing the dependability of Five-Year Plans is improvement of the work in compiling budgets of material, financial, and manpower resources, and creating the necessary reserves.

Securing the balanced development of the national economy is the major prerequisite for continued successful growth of the Soviet economy. It provides better conditions for improving the quality of work.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 349.

The balanced character of plans at all levels of the economic system must be made an inviolable law and be fully inherent in both the five-year and annual plans. It should be noted that it has not been possible to implement this practically and in full for the time being. Elements of unbalanced development which are still in evidence, primarily in the sphere of material resources, cause bottlenecks in the economy.

The most important direction in perfecting state planning activity is target-oriented scientific and technological programmes and at the Ministries comprehensive five-year plans of enhancing the technological level of development of the relevant sectors. These programmes should contain assignments for technological progress in individual sectors, for developing and introducing new articles and materials, for improving the quality of products, and for technological advancement of production.

Acceleration of scientific and technological progress and planned application in the national economy of the latest achievements of the revolution in science and technology is the decisive prerequisite for raising production efficiency. However, the path from a new technical idea or an invention to mass production is unfortunately too long in quite a few cases. Experimental samples of new technology are produced much too slowly sometimes.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Inventions, and Discoveries, the State Committee for Standards, Measures and Measuring Instruments, are to play a growing role in implementing a uniform technical policy, in comprehensive introduction of fundamentally new generations and systems of machines securing a substantial growth of the productivity of social labour, in attaining the world's highest technological level and high quality in Soviet production.

Accelerating introduction of new technology and processes will largely depend not only on corresponding assignments being included in five-year and annual plans but also on allocation of resources for implementing plans and speeding up work to solve key scientific and technological problems. The current transfer of scientific research organisations to the cost-accounting system of work to develop and

master new technology will contribute to enhancing the efficiency of scientific research.

Improvement of product quality is an important reserve for securing advancement of the efficiency of social production. An industry as a whole, as well as individual enterprises, must increase in their plans the share of top-quality products in total output. Great importance is attached to consistent implementation by Ministries of measures to stimulate the manufacture of high-quality products, primarily machinery, plant and equipment, and consumer goods.

The Party's decisions have defined measures for a radical improvement in the management of capital construction. The putting into service of productive capacities and projects should be the main indicator of the plan and of the assessment of the performance of building organisations. The institution of financial settlements between clients and contractors for fully built and commissioned enterprises, complexes, and projects will indisputably contribute to shortening the period of construction and improving its quality. For consistent introduction of more effective methods of organising construction and building up capacities by means of modernisation and reconstruction of operating enterprises, it is necessary to establish a procedure that would provide for investments for these purposes, as well as for allocation of material resources and equipment in plans as a matter of first priority.

To increase the relationship of wages to the ultimate performance results of enterprises it is highly important to implement a transition in most sectors of the national economy to planning the wages fund according to the rate per rouble's worth of output envisaged in the Five-Year Plan. In view of this one should pay attention to proposals to the effect that the planning of labour productivity in a number of industries, just as the volume of output, should conform to the index of net product and that the plans of Ministries, enterprises and organisations should set a ceiling on the number of factory and office workers, while the economic incentives-funds should be set up according to the rates approved for each year of a five-year plan depending on the growth of labour productivity, the share of top-quality products and profit, as well as deliveries of products to consumers under contracts.

In accordance with the Constitution of the USSR the role and responsibility of the Republican and local bodies of government and administration are to grow in such areas as economic and social development, rational utilisation of manpower and natural resources, more complete satisfaction of the population's demand for consumer goods and services. In the Union Republics and at local level, great work is being carried on to accomplish these tasks, in comprehensive planning, in improving the organisational forms of management, in raising production efficiency, in implementing measures of environmental protection by all enterprises in a given territory regardless of their departmental subordination.

Speaking at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev declared that "the question of improving the methods of comprehensive solution of large national, intersectoral and territorial problems has come on the agenda. Uniform centralized programmes covering all stages of work—from designing to practical realisation—are required here. It is important to ensure that in each particular case definite bodies and definite persons should bear full responsibility and coordinate all efforts within the framework of a given programme. Another question requiring solution is one of setting up a system of management of groups of related industries (for example, fuel and energy, transport, production and processing of agricultural produce, etc.)."¹

This is a key problem because it is precisely at the 'junction' between different Ministries, government departments and regions that we sustain heavy losses due to departmental and parochial partitions. An intensive search is now under way for the most effective organisational forms of management of national economic and territorial production complexes.

As far as planning is concerned, some comprehensive territorial plans and programmes are simply a code of territorial sections of branch plans. At times there is no organisational groundwork for planning and management in large economic areas. Solution of this problem is particularly urgent for the Russian Federation with its

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 5, pp. 517-518.

vast territory, as well as in comprehensive development of new regions.

The sectoral principle of management, which ensures the unity of economic and technical policies, must be applied, taking account of the system of rational economic ties within Republics, economic areas and regions. This can be done only on the basis of further improvement of scientific work on intersectoral and territorial economic problems.

In view of the much lessened possibility to involve additional manpower resources in production in the near future, we are faced with the responsible task of working out and introducing a system of effective measures to improve the distribution and employment of manpower, to reduce losses of working time, to stimulate the interest of every worker in saving live and materialized labour, to enhance the effectiveness of material and moral incentives, and to develop the working people's initiative.

A new factor in developing management is the substantial increase in attention to developing the legal foundations for planned management of rational utilisation of natural resources and environmental protection. These questions have for the first time been reflected in the Constitution of the USSR, the Constitutions of the Union Republics, the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers and a number of laws and decrees adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control has been established, special departments have been formed within the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the Republican and local planning bodies, Ministries and government departments; a corresponding section has been introduced into the long-term and annual plans of economic and social development. This ensures the necessary organisational, material and financial prerequisites for a frugal utilisation of natural resources, which are national property, for comprehensive processing of natural raw materials, for introducing low-waste and waste-free technologies, and for reducing environmental pollution.

At the same time, it would be useful to continue the search for the most effective forms of coordinating the activities of the Ministries, government departments, enterprises and associations dealing with

reproduction, comprehensive processing and protection of natural resources, and with utilisation of wastes.

A fairly great role in securing steady advancement of the efficiency of social production is played by the skilful use of finances, credit, and prices. Some work has been carried out to improve the forms and methods of activity of the central government bodies responsible for these areas: the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR State Committee for Prices, the State Bank of the USSR, the Construction Bank of the USSR, and the Central Statistical Bureau of the USSR. It is necessary to increase the influence produced on economic management by the State Bank, of which Lenin wrote in his time: "A single State Bank, the biggest of the biggest... is nine-tenths of the socialist apparatus. This means nationwide book keeping, nationwide registration of production and distribution of products..."¹

Unfortunately, our banking bodies, which are in possession of a wealth of unique information on the actual state of affairs at every enterprise and in every region, at times do not take full advantage of this possibility to carry out a comprehensive economic analysis and control over progress in fulfilling plan assignments.

As is known, wholesale prices are an important lever of the economic mechanism. The effectiveness of measures to improve planning and material stimulation in industry and construction largely depends on the economic validity of these prices.

Wholesale prices in force at present do not reflect in full measure the socially necessary expenditures for the manufacture of products, primarily in the fuel and raw materials sectors of industry. Most of them were established twelve years ago, in 1967, as a result of a price reform.

Over the period the national economy has undergone substantial changes in the conditions of production and distribution of industry: the share of the northern and eastern regions in the output of fuel and raw materials has grown, the mining and geological conditions of procuring fuel and energy resources in earlier developed regions have worsened, the spending on environmental protection has increased, large-scale measures have been implemented to adjust the rates of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 307.

wages and salaries in industry, depreciation charges have increased because of the re-evaluation of fixed assets and the introduction of higher depreciation rates. As a result capital outlays per unit of extracted fuel and raw materials and their prime costs have grown substantially. The growth of production costs in the fuel and raw materials sectors of industry is responsible for the non-profitability of coal mining, timber procurement and heat generation.

In the above-mentioned sectors, spending on geological prospecting and afforestation, and some other outlays currently financed out of the budget are not fully included in the prime costs. Such practices result in unwarranted understatement of the prime costs of industrial products, which gives the wrong idea of the national economic costs and efficiency of production.

The above-listed causes are responsible for the need to improve wholesale prices and wage rates. This refers primarily to wholesale prices for products of the fuel and raw materials sectors in industry, the iron-and-steel, chemical, and engineering industries, as well as the tariffs for heat and electric power. It is necessary to secure a further increase in the stimulating role of wholesale prices in stepping up the rates of scientific and technological progress, renewing the range and improving the quality of products, and in rational utilisation of material resources.

Establishment in industry of wholesale prices and tariffs corresponding to the new conditions of production will make it possible to reflect more completely the socially necessary outlays and thereby to secure a correct determination of the national economic effectiveness of measures carried out, to eliminate the non-profitability of a number of key sectors and lines of production, as well as unwarranted differences in the profitability of individual items of production and thus provide the conditions for normal profit-earning activities of associations and enterprises of industry, to use the new level of wholesale prices as a stable base for planning for a number of years ahead.

Economic science has an important role to play in improving the standards of management. Investigations of theoretical and practical problems in the field of management are carried out at institutes and laboratories of the USSR Academy of Sciences, at sectoral scientific

research institutes, and at institutions of higher learning. Scientists working in the field of management have solved a number of fundamental and applied problems involved in the management of industries and individual enterprises. It should be admitted, however, that the standards and orientation of some investigations still fail to meet the requirements of national economic development. As has been shown by the introduction of general schemes, scientific recommendations for improving management are sometimes much too general and schematic and exert an inadequate influence on selection of the most effective organisational structures of management of production associations.

Continued improvement of the organisational principles and methods of national economic, intersectoral and territorial management is not a short-term campaign, but should be conducted permanently to work out the most effective forms of management of the Soviet economy as an integrated national economic complex. Implementation of the measures outlined by the Party to improve planning, and increase the influence of the economic mechanism on advancing production efficiency and the quality of work will strengthen still more the economic potential of this country, will secure a further improvement in the well-being of the Soviet people, and will be a long step forward in fulfilling the tasks set by the Party.

Successful accomplishment of the tasks formulated by the Party to develop material production, to advance the well-being and culture of the people, and to improve the standards of management imperatively dictate the need for efficient and well-coordinated work of all elements of state administration. Thanks to the constant concern of the Party, the state apparatus which has taken shape in this country is developing, implementing the Party policy and conducting great and fruitful organising work in all areas of the economic, political and cultural life of Soviet society.

Under present conditions, however, the requirements for the standards of management of the national economy have grown considerably. The relevant provisions in the Constitution of the USSR and

the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers are based on the high Leninist standards applied to the bodies of state administration.

The Constitution lends legislative force to the principles and organisational forms of activity of these bodies, the planned direction of the economy and other aspects of social life, and defines the jurisdiction of various bodies of government in regulating economic and social development.

The adoption of the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers on 5 July 1978 was a big step forward in fulfilling the tasks outlined by the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the new Constitution of the USSR. This law is based on the Leninist principles of the organisation and activities of the Soviet Government, its vast experience in directing this country's economic and social development during a period of over six decades. The law formulates the main guidelines for the activities of the Council of Ministers, defines its terms of reference and the main tasks in management of economic development and social processes, its powers in the fields of planning, finance, credit, prices, manpower and wages, scientific and technological development, foreign economic relations, and other areas. Thereby a dependable legal foundation has been laid for further advancing the role of all bodies of state administration in implementing the Party's economic policy, translating it into reality on the basis of planned use of the economic laws of socialism and its fundamental advantages.

The significance of all these factors—of a scientific approach, of competence, of efficiency in the activities of personnel of the state apparatus—is increasing. No manifestation of red-tape, a bureaucratic attitude, and parochialism, which cause damage to work, can be tolerated in their activities. Of especially great importance is the active use of scientific and technological achievements in management, comprehensive substantiation and effectiveness of economic decisions. Unfortunately, the practices of some administrative bodies, their style and methods of work, are far from perfect failing to meet the demands made by the Party on the bodies of state administration. An essential shortcoming in the activities of some Ministries and government departments is the absence of vigorous organising work to secure unconditional fulfilment of plan assignments, to make use of

scientific and technological achievements, and to improve product quality.

Leading executives of some Ministries, government departments, and enterprises are concerned not so much in fulfilling the plan as for reducing their plan assignments, and being granted periods of grace and procuring additional investments, machines, equipment, and wage funds. Not infrequently, additional material and financial resources are requested by Ministries and government departments in possession of untapped potentials and reserves, which should have been used more economically and frugally, with stronger labour discipline and higher labour efficiency.

Inadequate attention is paid to searching for and taking advantage of the opportunities inherent in more effective employment of manpower, adjustment of quotas for spending raw materials, fuel, energy, preprocessed materials, elimination of stoppages, absenteeism, various unproductive outlays. Advancement of the standards of organising work, improvement of verification of the fulfilment of decisions, strengthening of state discipline in all sectors of the national economy, high responsibility of personnel for the assigned area of work, are the Party's most important demands and the decisive prerequisites for successful accomplishment of all national economic tasks.

The Party policy in the field of personnel training and placement is a powerful lever for raising the efficiency of social production. Among its most spectacular achievements is the training of a large body of specialists with such splendid qualities as superior occupational skills, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, communist high-principledness, an ability to find efficient answers to the tasks set by the Party and to provide competent guidance.

The broad scope of current construction work, the gigantic scale of communist construction, makes new higher claims on economic executives. A manager of Production can achieve success only if he has a good understanding of the complex laws governing the development of economic and social processes, skilfully uses economic laws and categories fully aware of their unity and inter-relationship, and actively struggles for implementing the Party's economic policy. Effective practical activity is impossible without profound theoretical knowledge.

Every economic executive must learn to think in economic terms, to compare outlays with the end results, to approach the solution of all problems from the national economic positions, and to press for topmost efficiency.

The art of planning and economic management in general consists in an ability to identify the concrete areas where the maximum effect can be obtained quickly and at minimum costs, to achieve an improvement in performance results, linking them more closely with the eventual national economic effect. For this, one must be thoroughly familiar with the essence and methods of planning, the mechanism of economic work and management of the socialist economy, and to be capable of handling skilfully the entire system of economic levers and incentives.

An organiser of production must be proficient in modern methods and techniques of management, competently apply economico-mathematical models, methods of systems analysis, and sophisticated computer technology. Only on this basis is it possible to secure continued development and advancement of the efficiency of automated systems of management and computing centres, consistently integrating them into a unified nationwide system of information collection and processing for purposes of registration, planning, and management. Study of the legal and socio-psychological aspects of management is also of great significance, because economic management implies, above all, guidance of people, an understanding of their needs, an ability to reveal and put their talents and interests at the service of the common cause, to observe legality, to display an exacting as well as individual approach to every person, to create a favourable socio-psychological climate of creativity within every labour collective.

An economic executive of any rank should combine fundamental special knowledge, a broad world outlook, profound culture, and an ability to apply the latest achievements of science and technology with communist convictions, dedication to party principles, persistence, discipline and efficiency, modesty and reserve. He must respect his colleagues, value their competence and experience, and heed the voice of the people.

The training and education of such executives possessing profound and many-sided theoretical knowledge and rich practical experience

is a highly important task. The system of training and advancing the qualifications of all state administration and economic management personnel should be oriented on this target.

Definite experience in this field has already been accumulated in this country. Faculties training production managers are already operating at a number of Soviet institutions of higher learning. Institutes and courses for advanced training are available practically under all Ministries. Advanced training of top economic executives has been carried out at the Institute of Management of the National Economy since 1970. About 1.5 million persons are trained within this system every year. These forms of advancing qualifications have justified themselves and should therefore be further used and perfected. Therefore the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have resolved to set up an educational institution of a new type: the USSR Academy of the National Economy, where economic executives with a specialised education and vast experience of management could obtain a profound fundamental knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, of the key problems of economics, the theory and methodology of managing economic and social processes, to learn the scientific foundations of national economic planning, the modern methods and techniques of management. The Academy is called upon to play an important part in fulfilling the task of training highly qualified executive personnel for the national economy.

All the achievements of this country in communist construction are the result of the selfless effort of the people, the wise home and foreign policies of the CPSU, its enormous organising and political education work. Under the leadership of the Leninist Party the Soviet people are working successfully to fulfil the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan the plans of communist construction. Millions of working people are actively involved in the work of government bodies, in management of production and distribution, in the political and cultural life of this country.

The resolutions of the April 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the first session of the Tenth Supreme Soviet of the USSR, have indicated new frontiers in the development of Soviet statehood and the creativity of the masses.

The Soviet people have enthusiastically welcomed these resolutions, the ideas and conclusions in the speech delivered by Comrade Brezhnev, and the unanimous election of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, as President. The decisions of the Plenary Meeting and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet are of major importance for fulfilling successfully the tasks in communist construction set by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. They inspire the Soviet people to new labour accomplishments in the name of peace and communism.

The Draft Law on People's Control in the USSR

**Report at the Second Session of the
USSR Supreme Soviet, 30th November
1979**

Comrade delegates,

The attention of the Party and the entire Soviet people is focused on the results of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which has just come to a close, the profound report delivered at that meeting by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, an outstanding leader of the Party and people, a staunch Marxist-Leninist, an ardent fighter for peace and the triumph of communist ideals.

Comrade Brezhnev gave a comprehensive scientific analysis of the Party's policy and practical activities in developing the socialist economy at the present stage, defined the tasks facing the country, and substantiated the ways and means of implementing them.

Of exceptional importance are Comrade Brezhnev's instructions concerning the need for strict and scrupulous observance of Soviet laws, for enhancing the responsibility of the people's control bodies to secure the efficient functioning of the entire economic mechanism and the fulfilment of plan assignments.

The draft Law on People's Control in the USSR which the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have submitted to this assembly answers precisely these tasks.

The draft is in agreement with the Constitution of the USSR, the Resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the later Plenary Meetings of its Central Committee. It is based on the great Lenin's ideas of people's control. His statement to the effect that "pending the

advent of the higher phase of communism socialism demands the most stringent control on the part of society and on the part of the state" was a profound scientific prevision. Lenin not only substantiated the need for control under socialism but also laid down the principles of its organisation and performance. Guided by Lenin's theory, the Party is constantly at work to perfect people's control as a means of involving the masses in communist construction.

The published works and statements of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, state the problems of developing the political system of Soviet society and organising people's control. Control reinforced by vigorous organisation of work free from formality, encouragement in every way of the working people's initiative, and making every worker strictly accountable for his performance—such is the key task at present, Comrade Brezhnev said.

The draft law reflects the programme principles of the Party and the provisions of the Constitution of the USSR concerning the ways of further developing socialist democracy and reinforcing people's control.

The very words 'people's control' express with exhaustive clarity the essence of control of a new, socialist type. The people's control bodies are one of the effective forms found for the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia to exercise their right to daily control over all the aspects of the work of government and economic bodies, enterprises and organisations. The succinct provisions of the draft law epitomise the energetic practical work of millions upon millions of people's controllers, active assistants of the Party and Government.

The draft law has summed up the rich experience of the people's control bodies in the Soviet Union. They have a long and splendid history, which began with the workers' control and progressed through the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to the effective system of people's control of today.

The draft has taken into account numerous suggestions for reinforcing control and strengthening discipline, which were submitted by Soviet citizens in letters received by the Party's Central Committee,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 265.

the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR during the nationwide discussion of the draft Constitution.

The draft submitted here for your consideration is called upon to define the tasks of people's control bodies, their functions and powers, to regulate the organisation and procedure of work of these bodies.

Since the draft is available to this audience, and you have certainly examined it, let me discuss only its major provisions. As stated in the draft, the people's control bodies are to exercise their functions in keeping within the guidelines set by the Communist Party. This is the main factor determining the political implications of the law.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the core of the political system of Soviet society, guides all constructive efforts of the Soviet people, and lends a planned, scientifically motivated character to their work for the triumph of communism.

The Party displays utmost concern for Lenin's ideas of constant and effective control by the masses to be unswervingly translated into reality.

The new Constitution has enhanced the significance and prestige of the people's control bodies and the role played by the Soviets of People's Deputies in organising and guiding them. The Soviets establish people's control bodies and rely on them for the performance of their functions.

The people's control bodies constitute an integrated system ranging from groups and posts to the USSR People's Control Committee formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The draft makes provision for the USSR People's Control Committee to work under the direction of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

In accordance with the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers, the Government exercises control over the work of the Ministries, State Committees and other bodies subordinated to it, relying on the USSR People's Control Committee, and directs its task of control in the sphere of economic, social and cultural development, and other fields of state administration.

At least once in the period between elections of the Supreme Soviet, the USSR People's Control Committee must submit a report

to the latter and regularly report on its work to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

After a study of inspection results, taking account of the nature of the questions involved, the USSR People's Control Committee submits its proposals and makes representations to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet or the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

A similar procedure is used in the relationships of the Republican People's Control Committees with the supreme legislative and executive bodies of the Union and Autonomous Republics. The local committees are accountable to the relevant Soviets of People's Deputies and operate under their guidance, as well as under the direction of the superior people's control committees.

In keeping with suggestions received from the general public, the draft provides for a new procedure to be used in setting up people's control groups and posts under the Soviets of People's Deputies in villages and other rural communities. Now they will be formed at sessions of these Soviets.

The draft embodies the Leninist principles of control, which is its characteristic feature. The central principle of these is the involvement of the mass of the people. The idea of the decisive role of the masses in control is the keynote of the full text of the draft. It stipulates that the main force in people's control should be made up of workers, collective farmers, and office employees taking part in the work of people's control groups, posts, and committees. Now millions of Soviet citizens—the most prestigious and respected persons elected by their labour collectives—are working fruitfully in people's control bodies. With such broad public involvement, control becomes truly nationwide and, as Lenin said, impossible to evade or escape from.¹

It is written down in the draft that people's control combines government control with public control by working people at factories and plants, on collective farms, at institutions and organisations. In their practical activities people's control committees rely on a large body of activists, on people's control groups and posts work-

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 101.

ing on a voluntary basis. At present there are over 1,300,000 such groups and posts operating throughout the country.

The key principle in the work of people's control bodies is democratic centralism. It ensures the unity of the people's control system, enables purposeful efforts to be made to accomplish its tasks with a view to the national interests and the specific conditions of the operation of enterprises and organisations.

As laid down in the draft, the people's control bodies should pursue their activities with strict observance of socialist legality, in full conformity with the Constitution. At the same time they are called upon to help strengthen legality and state discipline in the work of enterprise, organisations, and executives.

An indispensable prerequisite for effective control is publicity. By making any shortcomings known to the general public and submitting them to its judgement, people's control bodies mobilise labour collectives and individuals for correcting them. These bodies regularly inform the public of their work through the press, TV and radio broadcasting services and report resolutions on inspection results to labour collectives.

In its formulation of the principal tasks of the people's control bodies, the draft puts to the foreground verification of the fulfilment of Party directives, Soviet laws, and government decisions, particularly on problems of economic development. It is in this sphere that the main efforts are being made to build up the material and technological bases for communism and achieve the supreme goal of social production proclaimed in the Soviet Constitution: complete satisfaction of man's growing material and cultural requirements.

Therefore, the working people's control, as Comrade Brezhnev pointed out, extends primarily to the foundation of foundations of social life—economic affairs, the sphere of production and distribution, the activities of the state apparatus.

Who else but people's controllers, working in the midst of the people and familiar with the state of affairs practically at every enterprise and at every working place, can better help cope with the tasks of advancing the efficiency of social production and improving the quality of work? The very system of people's control bodies is so organised as to enable them to see at any time where violations and

errors are being committed, to prevent them in good time, and apply leverage whenever necessary.

The record of these bodies contains quite a few good examples. For instance, the collectives of Moscow industries aided by people's controllers have revealed large reserves, which enabled them to save last year over 130 thousand tons of ferrous and non-ferrous metal, to manufacture over and above plan more than 2 million metres of silken fabrics, and many other products. The measures taken in response to the results of inspection of enterprises in the Leningrad region made possible an additional output of 41 million roubles' worth of products in one year. In the course of the republican campaign for economy and frugality in the Ukraine, inspections were carried out practically at all enterprises, construction sites, collective and state farms. The elimination of shortcomings and the introduction of suggestions made by people's control committees and groups and by individuals saved the Republic over the last eighteen months about 4000 million kilowatt hours of electric power and almost two million tons of fuel (in conventional units). The people's control bodies have rich experience of effective work in other Union Republics as well.

People's controllers have many useful contributions to their credit, but they will have to work still harder in the future. Comrade Brezhnev has pointed out in this context that "what we need now is efficient and well-coordinated work of the entire managerial apparatus, real responsibility of everybody for his job, a persistent struggle against breaches of state discipline, all kinds of extravagance, mismanagement, and abuse of confidence. The nine-million-strong force of people's controllers and the USSR People's Control Committee leading them must be in the forefront here..."¹

The people's control bodies are to handle a particularly large amount of work in the light of the decisions of the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks outlined in Comrade Brezhnev's speech at that meeting.

¹ *Pravda*, 19 April 1979.

The discussion at this session of the plan and budget for 1980, the last year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, has shown what important problems will have to be solved in the fields of industrial development, agriculture, transport, and capital construction. Successful fulfilment of the plan and budget will further consolidate the economic potential of this country and secure continued improvement of the Soviet people's standards of life.

Unremitting control over fulfilment of plan assignments is one of the key tasks facing people's control bodies. They are obliged to go thoroughly into details of the productive activities of associations and enterprises, to make a profound analysis of the causes of shortcomings, and take persistent steps to correct them.

Now it is mandatory to reinforce considerable control over fulfilment of construction plans, timely commissioning and mastering operation of productive and socio-cultural facilities. As pointed out by speakers at this assembly, construction of many of them is delayed for a long time, and some new capacities are put into service, ignoring their grave defects and poor workmanship. There are many uncompleted construction projects. In quite a few instances, financial, material and manpower resources, in contravention of instructions of the Party and Government, are not concentrated on first-priority projects nearing completion but are dispersed between numerous construction sites, at times those of secondary importance. This situation cannot be tolerated any longer.

The people's control bodies should become more actively involved in verifying fulfilment of plans of transportation by rail and rational use of rolling stock. Failures in freight delivery are largely due to breaches of discipline both in transportation services and in other sectors of the economy. Indeed, not infrequently there is an acute shortage of rolling stock, while scores of thousands of freight wagons are standing idle at railway stations and on spur tracks of enterprises.

Fulfilment of assignments for product deliveries under contractual and other commitments claim daily attention of people's controllers. Contractual discipline is not yet observed conscientiously everywhere. In conditions of broad specialisation and co-operation in production, however, failure in product delivery by one enterprise may disrupt the

normal operation of many other enterprises and often involves great losses.

One of the main directions in the work of people's control bodies is a struggle for high product quality. It is necessary to create a climate of public censure around bunglers and erect a dependable barrier against the production of inferior goods.

The draft devotes close attention to active efforts to detect reserves in the economy and control over the application of scientific and technological achievements and advanced experience in production. Our successes might have been more impressive, if we had made fuller use of existing reserves. Opportunities for further improvement of production efficiency and workmanship are available to every industry and every enterprise. The people's control bodies have broad scope for action in this field.

Strong emphasis is placed on sparing use of manpower, material, and financial resources and on resolute steps to oppose mismanagement and extravagance. Efforts to secure stringent economy and frugality in everything—be it electric power or fuel, metal or structural materials, working time or monetary funds—should have top priority in the work of people's control bodies.

Great tasks are set before people's control bodies in the field of agriculture. It is necessary above all to press for the most rational use of the enormous material and financial resources the Government has allocated for rural development, for the greatest possible yields per hectare of land and for the highest returns from each rouble of investments, for competent application of machinery and its handling with care.

Equally important is control over rational use of everything produced by the selfless work of the farmers. It is necessary to secure preservation of farm produce and its delivery to consumers without spoilage. The problem of losses of grain, vegetable, and fruit has not only economic but also political implications.

The problem of environmental protection is becoming ever more vital today. "To keep the land, air and waters clean is a key national problem", Comrade Brezhnev said in a speech delivered in Dnepropetrovsk. "At one time prime importance was attached to putting a factory or plant into service as speedily as possible, to organising new

production at all costs. Today we must build in a way causing no harm to nature. It is also necessary to modernise old enterprises to prevent environmental pollution."¹

It is the duty of people's control bodies to keep vigilant watch over timely implementation by all enterprises and organisations of planned measures to secure rational use and conservation of natural resources.

This country's growing economic power and production efficiency are the basis for implementing large-scale measures to raise the standards of public welfare. Real incomes of the population and social consumption funds are steadily growing, and the networks of health, educational and cultural institutions are widening. Housing construction is going ahead on an enormous scale. These are indisputable achievements in implementing the Party's social programme.

Needless to say, not all problems have yet been solved. There have been justified complaints on the part of the general public about the poor assortment and quality of certain consumer goods, about the organisation of trade and everyday services of the population, that is, work in areas of importance literally to every family and every individual. People's control bodies should be more responsive to such complaints and insist on effective measures to be taken urgently to remedy the situation.

In all their activities the people's control bodies should help improve the work of enterprises, organisations, Ministries and government departments, and resolutely oppose anything causing damage to the interests of the nation and society. This will make for taking better advantage of the available opportunities for continued development of all sectors of the economy.

The Party's Central Committee and the Government have recently adopted important resolutions on measures to improve planning and perfect the economic mechanism. The people's control bodies must actively participate in unremitting control over compliance with these resolutions.

People's control is to play a much greater role in the struggle against violations of state discipline, red tape and bureaucratic atti-

¹ *Pravda*, 22 September 1979.

tudes, for efficiency, promptness and good co-ordination in the operation of the state apparatus. It is necessary to create an atmosphere of intolerance of parochialism, a narrow-minded bureaucratic approach to the matter in hand, or any attempt at abuse of confidence.

Criticisms and suggestions from the public give invaluable aid to people's control bodies. Suffice it to recall that people's control committees receive hundreds of thousands of letters from the public on a variety of questions every day. The vast majority of them are permeated with concern for national interests. Many of them have provided the motive for inspections and corrective measures whenever necessary.

The new law is to grant broad powers to people's control bodies. The latter are to take action against offenders by comradely criticism and a discussion of their misconduct or by applying legal penalties.

The people's control committees have every facility for a thorough inspection of the state of affairs at enterprises, institutions and organisations regardless of their departmental subordination. They are empowered to demand correction of the shortcomings detected, to impose penalties on offenders, to exact monetary compensation for damage, to suspend from office executives responsible for failure to fulfil resolutions of the Party and Government.

Of course, this does not imply the need to mete out penalties whenever inspection has brought to light an offence, however minor. In the event of flagrant violations and abuse of office, however, people's control committees are obliged to act with determination regardless of the offender's rank.

The law is to make it incumbent on leading executives of enterprises and organisations, Ministries and government departments to examine without delay suggestions and recommendations of people's control bodies, to correct the shortcomings detected, and to inform the latter within a specified period about the measures taken to this effect. This is an important prerequisite for effective control.

It should be emphasised that the main purpose of people's control is to improve the situation in the areas of work under scrutiny. To expose a shortcoming and put it on record is only half the battle. The next step is to press for its correction. Control is effective only when measures are taken in good time to prevent or correct slips in work

performance and the causes responsible for omissions and failures are brought to light. Unfortunately, inspections sometimes fall short of these goals. They must be made more effective and really fruitful.

People's control bodies come up with the best results when they closely collaborate with the standing commissions of Soviets of People's Deputies, trade unions, YCLs, and other public organisations.

It is highly important, particularly in matters of protecting socialist property and exposing played-up progress reports and other misdeeds, for people's control bodies to keep in permanent touch with agencies of public prosecution, internal affairs, justice, state arbitration, and courts of law. It is mandatory to safeguard with utmost vigilance the property of the nation, everything created by the work of the people. Socialist property, the bedrock of the Soviet economic system, is sacred and inviolable.

The draft devotes much attention to people's controllers, the main agents in enforcing the provisions of the law. The services of these sentinels of the people, the finest representatives of the working class, the collective farmers and the people's intelligentsia are highly appreciated in this country.

To be elected a people's controller is a great honour, implying high responsibility. At all times and in all situations he is to live up to the confidence reposed in him, to be absolutely impartial, exacting and principled in matters involving protection of national and public interests, to display constant concern for preservation and augmenting of national wealth.

The law is to lay down effective guarantees to secure successful work of people's controllers. Opposition to and baiting of people's controllers performing their duties are punishable by law. Provision is made for moral and material incentives for people's controllers. Leading executives of local government and economic agencies and public organisations are obliged to give all-round support and assistance to them.

Truly nationwide control by the people is striking evidence of the advantages of socialist democracy, convincing proof of the genuine character of the broad rights enjoyed by the working people in the Soviet Union, which is a state of the whole people. Capitalist states,

which are standing guard over the interests of the exploiter minority, deny such rights to their citizens.

It is only in socialist society, where government, the means of production, and all national wealth are in the hands of the people, that a system of genuine people's control has taken shape and is functioning effectively.

The adoption of the Law on People's Control in the USSR will mark a new stage in the work of the people's control bodies. It will indisputably contribute to further improvement of their performance and enhance the activity of people's controllers. At the same time, the law will make for continued development of socialist democracy and broader involvement of the working people in the management of the affairs of state and society.

I am confident that the Soviet people will welcome the adoption of the Law on People's Control in the USSR by the Supreme Soviet.

To Work in Leninist, Communist Style

Speech at a meeting in the Obukhov constituency of Leningrad for elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, 12th February 1980

Dear comrades,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am deeply moved and very glad to meet my voters, working people of the Obukhov constituency of Leningrad.

To be nominated for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic by working people of your city named after Lenin, the genius who founded our Party and State, is a great honour and an expression of deep trust in the candidate.

Leningrad is especially dear to every Soviet man and women. Here in the crucible of class battles the Bolshevik cadre formed under Lenin's leadership, those who led the Great October Socialist Revolution which established the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

Lenin had great affection for the workers of Petrograd.¹ He wrote about them as follows:

"The workers of Petrograd... are one of the finest, most progressive, class-conscious, revolutionary, and staunchest... contingents of the working class and all working people of Russia."²

The communists, the working people of this city on the Neva, showed exemplary courage in the struggle for Soviet government in

¹ Leningrad's name before the Revolution. *Translator.*

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 361.

the years of the Civil War, economic ruin, economic recovery and reconstruction. Leningraders were invariably in the vanguard of those who built up socialist industry, forged the country's defence potential, remade agriculture and village life, and enriched national culture.

During the Great Patriotic War the Leningraders displayed unprecedented heroism and unwavering staunchness. Now, on the eve of the 35th anniversary of our great victory, the Soviet citizens, all those who cherish peace, again and again recall with admiration the exploits of the communists, all working people of Leningrad, who stood their ground and triumphed in the incredibly hard conditions of the 900-day-long Nazi siege of the city. Their exploits will be remembered in the centuries to come; they have earned the love and gratitude of the living and future generations. The workers of the factories and plants of the Neva district, where the Obukhov constituency is situated, played a conspicuous part in the revolutionary, war-time and labour history of Leningrad. Here in the Neva district Lenin organised the first Marxist workers' circles in Russia. One of the greatest political protest actions of Russia's proletariat, which has gone down in history as the 'Obukhov defence', took place here. It is deeply symbolic that the gun of the legendary cruiser *Aurora*, whose thunder announced the advent of a new era, had been made by Obukhov workers.

The communists and the labour collectives of the Bolshevik Plant, the Nevsky Zavod industrial complex named after Lenin, the Proletarsky Zavod and Zvezda complexes, the Nogin and Rabochy factories and other industries of the district have inscribed quite a few vivid pages in the city's history in the days of the October Revolution, in the years of socialist construction, the Great Patriotic War, and in the postwar period.

Loyal to Lenin's behests, the cause of the Communist Party, the working people of the district's enterprises and organisations are persistently enriching their splendid traditions. By their selfless efforts and tireless creative quests they are translating the Party policy, the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, into reality.

We heard the impassioned speeches made from this rostrum by representatives of the working class and the intelligentsia, communists and unaffiliated people, and members of the young generation.

Their emotional pronouncements expressed their deep feelings of gratitude to the Leninist Party and its headquarters—the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee headed by its General Secretary, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, a loyal Leninist and an outstanding leader of the Party and people.

Leonid Brezhnev enjoys profound respect and affection within the Party and people for his wisdom and farsightedness, his keen responsiveness in all matters concerning the life and work of the Soviet people, his ability to inspire and organise communists and all working people for fulfilling the tasks of communist construction, his indefatigable struggle for peace.

All speakers here spoke of this on behalf of all Leningraders with great warmth and sincerity.

It will be a great pleasure for me to convey to Comrade Brezhnev this high appreciation of the activities of the Party's Central Committee, your sincere wishes to him of good health for many years to come, of new successes in his multifarious and fruitful work for the benefit of the Soviet people, in the name of peace and communism.

Comrade Brezhnev has more than once commended the active and fruitful work of Leningrad's Party organisations and labour collectives in performing important production assignments. He is well acquainted personally with many workers, state farmers, scientists and members of the literary and artistic community of Leningrad and region.

Comrade Brezhnev has asked me to convey to the communists and all working people of the hero city of Leningrad and region his heartfelt greetings, wishes of new achievements in their work, and all the best in their private lives. I am happy to fulfil this honourable commission.

We can say with legitimate pride that over the years since the 25th Congress of the CPSU enormous constructive work has been done in the sphere of economic development, in advancing the working people's material well-being, and in the field of cultural progress. The Soviet Union's positions on the international scene have been consolidated, and its prestige as the standard-bearer of peace, social progress and democracy has further increased.

This country has a huge economic, scientific and technological potential, and a wealth of natural resources. The friendly family of Soviet nations are working enthusiastically in its vast expanses to carry into effect the plans of the Communist Party. New towns are springing up, uninhabited areas are being developed, large industrial projects and oil derricks are going up, transport routes and high-voltage power transmission lines are being built in various parts of the country.

The historical heartland of this country—the non-black earth zone of Russia—is also undergoing transformation. The economic potential of Siberia and the Soviet Far East is being built up. Successful work is in progress on the Baikal-Amur Railway.

The socialist economy is not plagued by crises, recessions, or unemployment. It is developing at a rate much faster than the growth rates of production in the developed capitalist countries. The Soviet Union is confidently leading the world in many important fields of industry, including oil, coal, iron and steel, iron ore, coke, cement, tractors, mineral fertiliser, diesel locomotives, woollen fabrics, and leather footwear.

Profound qualitative changes are taking place in the national economy. The industries crucial to technological progress, such as chemical and petrochemical, electronics, automation facilities and control systems, instrument-making and motor vehicles, are developing at an accelerated rate.

Over the last five years more than 1000 large industrial projects have been built in the country. Some of them are real giants, such as the Leningrad, Kursk, Armenian, and Chernobylskaya atomic power plants, the Tiktogul and Nurek electric power stations, the oil refineries at Mozyr, Pavlodar, and Lisichansk, the Pridonsky chemical plant, and the Kama motor works.

The Party is consistently and purposefully pursuing its policy of building up the nation's economic potential and enhancing production efficiency. This country is confidently forging ahead along the path of building the material and technological basis for communism.

The working people of Leningrad and region are contributing effectively to Soviet economic progress. A good share of this contribution comes from the labour collectives of the industries and organ-

isations of the Obukhov constituency. The engineering factories and sectoral institutes situated in this constituency are very effectively handling the tasks in securing scientific and technological progress, developing the nation's fuel and power industry, turbine and diesel engine construction, atomic power engineering, construction of trunk gas pipelines, iron and steel production, and ship-building.

Yesterday, I visited, together with Grigory Romanov and other Leningrad leaders, a number of shops of the Nevsky Zavod industrial complex named after Lenin, one of the city's oldest engineering enterprises. We met workers, engineers and technicians, had discussions with Party activists and managers. I am pleased to say that we were favourably impressed by the work of this enterprise on the whole.

The making of the first sample of an assembly which is the basic model of a high-powered natural gas pumping station is a major achievement of the labour collective of the complex. The application of such assemblies will considerably reduce capital outlays for building compressor stations and increase the capacity of trunk gas pipelines.

There are quite a few other front-ranking enterprises in your constituency area. They have successfully fulfilled the assignments for the last four years of the Five-Year Plan and are actively involved in the emulation drive in honour of the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

The collectives and front-ranking workers of the industries of the Obukhov constituency have accumulated rich experience in improving the organisation of production, work and management, and come forward with many splendid patriotic initiatives in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period.

Large production associations have been set up and are operating here. Just as at other enterprises of Leningrad, first integrated plans of economic and social development of collectives have been drawn up and implemented, the system of training workers has been reorganised on new principles, and a socialist emulation drive launched under the slogan 'From good workmanship of each to high efficiency of all.' An important role in implementing this slogan, achieving high labour productivity and saving raw and other materials, is played by the initiative of engineers and technicians of the Nevsky Zavod industrial complex named after Lenin, who have put forward the slogan

'Technologists lead the way.' This movement enables more effective use of latent reserves and a substantial reduction in labour inputs in manufactured articles. It is gratifying to know that it has found broad support and has extended to other labour collectives in the Neva district and throughout the city of Leningrad.

I also have in mind the initiative of the spinner of the Rabochy factory, Rimma Vershinana and her work mates, who have taken a pledge to fulfil two five-year quotas by mastering advanced methods and tending a larger shopfloor area of machinery. They are determined to live up to their pledge and to have coped with nine annual quotas by the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth. This is a striking example of shock work in true communist style.

Thousands of remarkable front-ranking workers and innovators in production, communist-style shock workers and winners of socialist emulation contests, are working selflessly at the enterprises of your district.

Among them are Boris Tugayev and Eugeny Artemyev, Heroes of Socialist Labour, leaders of integrated machine-tool teams; Vladimir Shchanikov and Vladimir Kononov, laureates of the USSR State Prize; Eugeny Fedotov and Alexander Podvoisky, knights of the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, to mention but a few.

Though they differ in character, profession, and life experience, they have most important traits in common: utter devotion to duty, a lofty sense of worker pride, and proficiency in their trades. Honour and glory are due to the constructive work of the Leningraders, who are augmenting the material and cultural wealth of this socialist country and are doing all in their power to contribute to its might and prosperity.

Our economic achievements are the basis on which the Party is persistently pursuing its policy of further improving the people's standards of life.

A major component of this policy is the effort to secure a further advance of agriculture. Over the last few years great work has been carried out to reinforce its material and technological basis.

In spite of the severe winter and scorching drought, gross agricultural output in 1979 increased from the annual average level attained

in the last Five-Year Plan period. The plan of purchases of raw cotton, vegetables, eggs and wool has been fulfilled, and the number of all kinds of livestock and poultry has grown.

The Party is making efforts to have the people's material and cultural needs satisfied ever more fully.

Important social problems are being solved successfully. The Soviet Union is building more housing than France, Italy, the FRG, Great Britain, and other Common Market countries put together. Roughly 11 million people improve their housing conditions in this country each year. The rent in the Soviet Union is lower than anywhere else in the world; it has not been changed since 1928.

The population of the Obukhov constituency is provided, in keeping with the existing quotas, with pre-school childcare centres, schools, polyclinics, shops and public catering establishments, cultural and sports facilities. We are holding this meeting in a wonderful Palace of Culture, which belongs to the workers of the Nevsky Zavod industrial complex named after Lenin.

Real *per capita* incomes have grown during the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The Party is making strenuous efforts to increase the manufacture of consumer goods and develop the services.

Much has been done to promote public health and further develop education and culture, without which full-blooded life in developed socialist society is inconceivable.

This is particularly in evidence here in Leningrad, which is well known as one of the country's greatest cultural centres.

The intellectuals of Leningrad are actively involved in the national cause of building a communist society. Members of the city's literary and artistic community are working fruitfully to represent in art the great accomplishments of the Soviet people. The Party and Government highly value the creative contributions of workers in culture and the arts. Many intellectuals of Leningrad have been awarded government decorations and honorary titles.

I wish scientists, artists, writers, doctors, teachers, all members of the people's intelligentsia, new success in their noble work.

Now I would like to say a few words about the Leningrad porcelain factory named after the great Russian scientist Mikhail Lomonosov.

I was greatly impressed by the achievements of its labour collective. The talented artists, masters and workers of this factory have made an important contribution to the development of porcelain manufacturing and produced highly artistic ware, which has enriched museum collections of this country and the world and brought pleasure to Soviet homes. The fame of the factory has spread far beyond Soviet borders. It has large potentialities for a further increase in the production of superior artistic porcelain articles.

In the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan large-scale measures have been carried out to raise the standards and quality of life of the Soviet people. They have affected literally all aspects of life in Soviet society: conditions of employment, everyday living, rest and leisure, social security, culture and education.

The Party and Government's concern for children, their health and upbringing, holds pride of place among all activities in this field. In this country children are surrounded with universal affection and enjoy great privileges. This has once again been vividly demonstrated by the International Year of the Child.

Our success in economic and cultural development and in solving social problems is the result of the Soviet people's selfless work and the consistent implementation of the Party's Leninist policy. This policy enjoys full support of the entire Soviet people. The inviolable unity of the Party and people is a guarantee of new triumphs in communist construction.

The Soviet Union has entered the last year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. In his speech at the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Brezhnev gave a profound analysis of the state of affairs in the key areas of the national economy, of the immediate tasks and long-term problems.

The Plenary Meeting concentrated on the key problems of the Party's economic policy, on the problems involved in utilising reserves to a maximum for advancing the efficiency of social production, the productivity of labour, the quality of work, and for stepping up the rates of scientific and technological progress.

The growth rates of the national economy largely depend on the way scientific achievements are applied in the national economy.

Leningrad is one of the country's biggest centres of science and engineering. The activities of its scientists are distinguished by profound scientific quests, bold creativity in raising and resolving fundamental problems, and close links with the production sphere.

Following the example of twenty-eight research collectives, enterprises, and organisations of Leningrad, which have undertaken joint commitments to build a giant power dam on the Yenisei, more than 200 factories and plants, associations, scientific, design and R&D organisations are involved in the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway, the Sayan, Bratsk, and Ust-Ilimsk territorial production complexes, large power projects, nuclear ones in particular, and in solving the problems of advancing agriculture in the non-black earth zone of the Russian Federation.

It is a pleasure for me to inform you today that while on visits to Berezniki, Karaganda, Norilsk, and Magnitogorsk I more than once heard expressions of respectful gratitude for the assistance rendered by Leningrad's industries, research and design institutions in building and developing these industrial centres.

Institutions of higher learning are actively involved in the efforts to promote scientific and technological progress. This is effective aid to production and has a beneficial influence on the standards of training and educating specialists of the national economy, production managers, and young scientists.

The Union of Science and Labour imparts powerful momentum to the all-round progress of Soviet society. May this remarkable creative co-operation grow and strengthen!

The scientists of Leningrad are now confronted by complicated and responsible tasks. I wish to emphasise the crucial importance of their vigorous participation in working out the problems involved in further developing the fuel and power industry, advancing the technological standards of engineering and metallurgy, stepping up the development rates of the chemical and electronics industries, securing comprehensive use of natural resources, developing and introducing computer technology, automation facilities and high-quality products and materials, and advanced technological processes.

One of the vital problems before the national economy is improvement of product quality. High quality means dependable, highly

productive and economical machinery, machine-tools, assemblies, excellent consumer goods which gladden the eye. It is precisely improvement of product quality that holds out great opportunities for raising the productivity of labour, saving material resources, and further improving the people's standards of living.

The Party organisations and labour collectives of Leningrad, of enterprises located in the Obukhov constituency in particular, have made appreciable headway in this direction. They are handling this work in a comprehensive way with an eye to a long-term perspective. Much has already been done in this field. However, in tackling the problems of quality posed by present demand we should not lose sight of tomorrow's needs, since the criteria of product quality are steadily rising.

Engineering factories, those of Leningrad in particular, are to handle an especially large share of work in improving product quality. We feel concern about the rather low technical standard of some machines, the imperfect process of manufacturing them, and the much too great metal consumption in equipment production. These shortcomings should be overcome in the near future. To secure the high quality of machines and equipment it is necessary to speed up the introduction of effective technological processes, powder metallurgy, welded instead of cast blanks, plasma processing and stamping of metal.

Improvement of product quality is a daily task for all Party, local government, and economic bodies of the city and region, each labour collective, and each workman. All matters should be handled in such a way as not to overlook any instance of slipshod, negligent work, no deviation from prescribed standards and to secure a situation ruling out such occurrences at every enterprise.

All products made in Leningrad must be of superior quality. You have every possibility for this: powerful modern productive facilities, experienced scientists, engineers and technicians, skilful and hard-working production personnel. Leningraders will unquestionably set up splendid examples of excellent workmanship and superlative product quality.

This country has enormous resources. We must use them rationally and frugally. Indeed, they constitute our national wealth belonging to

the whole people. The riches of nature accumulated over the centuries are practically non-renewable.

A frugal attitude to nature is not only a crucial economic principle but also a moral principle of Soviet society, which is concerned for the well-being not only of the living generation but also of the generations to come.

Prime importance is attached, literally by every enterprise, to the performance of its assignments for reducing fuel consumption quotas, for effective use of secondary energy resources, for cutting the losses of heat and energy in the maintenance of housing and the utilities.

The Party's Central Committee consider the drawing up of a long-term energy programme a matter of crucial significance. This refers to a substantial improvement in the fuel and energy budget, a reduction in the share of oil used by power stations, a heightening of the rates of atomic power development, faster development of the Ekibastuz, Kansk-Achinsk and Kuznetsk fuel and energy complexes, replacement of obsolescent energy-consuming equipment, broad application of energy-saving technology, and increasing the heat stability of housing. This programme will include as a component part construction of atomic power plants, as well as enterprises to produce equipment and materials for them.

Leningrad industries and research organisations are to play a conspicuous role in working out and implementing this programme. Its fulfilment will be a long stride forward in building up the material and technological basis for communism. The Party's Central Committee and the Government are confident that the Leningraders will successfully cope with this responsible task.

Advancing production efficiency and product quality, using all reserves to a maximum, application of scientific and technological achievements in production, stepping up work in lagging areas, reinforcing austerity measures are all pivotal problems that imply continued improvement of management of the national economy, assimilation by all managerial personnel of knowledge of modern economics and a modern style of economic activity. That is the way this question is posed in the resolutions of the 25th Party Congress, the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Party's Central Committee and the Government attach high priority to resolute enhancement of state planning discipline, overcoming parochialism and a narrow departmental approach to work, strict compliance with its contractual obligations by every enterprise and association, effective use by economic executives of their powers, encouraging their initiative and enhancing their responsibility.

Leningrad's Party organisations have raised an efficient body of economic managers, talented organisers thoroughly familiar with economics and capable of smooth collaboration with their colleagues. Among such executives I know of in the Neva district are Zoya Lebedeva, general manager of the Rabochy factory, Gennady Velikanov, Director General of the Nevsky Zavod industrial complex named after Lenin, and Zinaida Metelitsa, general manager of the porcelain factory, to mention but a few.

The Party is determined as before to give unflagging attention to selecting and educating energetic managers having a keen sense of responsibility to the Party and capable of fulfilling competently the tasks in promoting scientific and technological progress and giving guidance to their subordinates.

The construction of a new society is a matter of vigorous creativity on the part of the masses.

The Communist Party is doing everything necessary for further developing socialist democracy, for making our humane ideals still more deeply implanted in the fabric of developed socialist society.

Socialism has translated into reality the principle of indissoluble unity of each citizen's rights and duties, one of the foundations of social justice. Lenin predicted in his time that "a communist organisation of social labour, socialism being the first step towards it, is based and will be based more and more firmly with progress in time on free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves..."¹

Constant strengthening of such discipline is the basis for augmenting the material and cultural wealth of society; it meets the interests of every Soviet man and woman. This idea of Lenin's is the keynote

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 39, p. 14.

of the recently adopted resolution on further strengthening labour discipline and reducing manpower fluctuation in the national economy.

The problems involved in heightening the labour activity of the masses—strengthening socialist labour discipline, law and order, and educating citizens committed to lofty ideological principles and full of initiative—hold pride of place in all ideological activities of the Party.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee 'On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Activities' and the National Conference of Ideological Workers held in October 1979 have set the guidelines for continued enhancement of the socialist awareness of the masses, an active offensive struggle against hostile propaganda, and cultivation of high political vigilance. Ideological activities are an important area of communist construction.

The foundation of the Communist Party's foreign policy is a struggle to consolidate the positions of socialism, to secure lasting peace and deepen *détente*, and safeguard the security of nations. This is precisely the policy line mapped out by the Party at its 24th Congress and further developed at its 25th Congress.

For over thirty-five years the Soviet people have been working under peaceful skies, and historical credit for this is due to the Communist Party and to the General Secretary of its Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev.

The Party and the Soviet Government pay close attention to the consolidation and all-round development of friendship among the sister nations of the socialist community. Comecon's thirty-year record of work is striking evidence of the effectiveness of the growing co-operation among its member nations and their successful socio-economic and political development.

The consolidation of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the working-class and national liberation movement, which are in evidence under the conditions of *détente*, have infuriated the forces of imperialist reaction, primarily in the United States. They have shown especially bitter resentment at the overthrow of the Shah's regime in Iran, the emergence of a new Kampuchea, the revolutionary reforms in Nicaragua, the April revolution in Afghanistan.

The late seventies and early eighties have seen a marked aggravation of the international situation. The responsibility for this rests with the U.S. ruling quarters and the Carter Administration. The U.S. President and his entourage engaged in loud sabre-rattling in an effort to secure for themselves the role of a world policeman and by such dubious means to bring pressure to bear on other countries and improve the largely eroded prestige of the United States.

All this is evidence to the effect that Washington has slipped back into the morass of the Cold War, and has taken up an irresponsible stance with regard to international agreements and its own commitments, is whipping up anti-Soviet psychosis, and has no sense of political balance in its approach to the most complicated world problems affecting the interests of all humanity. This is by no means a sign of strength in the U.S. present policy, however much the U.S. hard liners may be willing to prove that to the American people and world opinion, but an unmistakable symptom of the internal weakness of this policy.

As for the Soviet Union's attitude to such actions, it is perfectly unambiguous. The Soviet people will not allow themselves to be intimidated, as Leonid Brezhnev made it perfectly clear in a *Pravda* interview. This is the stand of the whole Soviet people.

As regards the American President's measures to curtail trade and scientific and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, they are causing political and economic damage primarily to the United States itself.

In the present complicated and contradictory international situation the Party is firmly and consistently pursuing its Leninist foreign policy line, making a sober and comprehensive assessment of the prevailing state of affairs, and doing whatever is necessary to safeguard the peaceful life of the Soviet people, to strengthen this country's defence capability, while demonstrating its profound commitment to the cause of *détente* and consolidation of peace.

The high-principled Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State enjoys unanimous support of the working class, the collective farmers, and the people's intelligentsia. This policy is backed up by the great constructive efforts of the 260-million-strong Soviet people, a nation of builders and heroes.

Coming to the end of my speech, I wish to express again my heartfelt appreciation of the honour and trust bestowed on me by Leningraders. I am also profoundly moved by the high commendation of my contributions expressed by other speakers at this meeting. Credit for them is due primarily to the Communist Party, which is directing all constructive activities of the Soviet people in wise Leninist style.

Allow me to express my heartfelt thanks for your encouraging words and best wishes and my deep gratitude to all working people of the enterprises and organisations situated in the area of the Obukhov constituency, who have nominated me for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

I promise you, dear comrades, and all voters of the district, that by my work in the area assigned to me by the Party I will do my level best to live up to your confidence, to do my duty as a communist guided by Lenin's principles in all matters, and serving the interests of the people.

This country is in possession of everything needed for further successful advance in all fields of communist construction.

The Communist Party and all Soviet citizens are preparing to celebrate the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the 35th anniversary of Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War. Simultaneously, preparations have been started for the Party's 26th Congress.

All these events impose great moral obligations upon us. The closing year of the Five-Year Plan is a period of most intensive work. It is necessary to press for fulfilment and overfulfilment of assignments for 1980 and socialist pledges. This memorable year must become a time of enthusiastic work in truly Leninist style.

Following the path opened by the October Revolution under the leadership of the Leninist Party, the Soviet people will achieve new successes in economic and cultural development, in consolidating the Soviet Union's positions on the international scene.

Let me thank you again for the trust and warm hospitality you have accorded me.

I wish the electorate of your constituency, all Leningraders, new splendid accomplishments for the benefit of this country.

Thank you.

Part 2

First Priority Task in Work Organisation

Article in the journal *Communist*, No. 3, 1980

It has been repeatedly stated in resolutions of the 24th and 25th Party Congresses, Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, reports and speeches of its General Secretary, President of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, that determined strengthening of labour discipline is highly important in the conditions of developed socialism, when it is mandatory to pursue with ever greater perseverance a policy of raising production efficiency and the standards of workmanship for solving the central task of securing steady improvement of the people's well-being.

Comrade Brezhnev said in this connection: "Speaking in general, discipline and order are necessary at all times. Today when the scope of economic work has grown enormously, when the pattern of economic inter-relationships is becoming ever more complex, denser and ramified, they are absolutely indispensable. Appeals for discipline and order are not enough. What is needed above all is painstaking, daily organising work, accurate verification of performance, a flexible, thoroughly planned personnel selection and placement policy."¹

A responsible task before Party, local government, trade union, and YCL bodies, and economic executives is to achieve a substantial improvement in organising, political education, and legal education

¹ L. I. Brezhnev. Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on 27 November 1979. Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, p. 24.

activities aimed at strengthening labour discipline, eliminating losses of working time, making rational use of manpower resources, and setting up stable labour collectives. These activities are an indispensable prerequisite for implementing the Party's economic and social policy, advancing the efficiency of production, and cultivating a communist attitude to work. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions 'On Further Strengthening of Labour Discipline and Reducing Manpower Fluctuation in the National Economy' has set the guidelines for fulfilling these tasks.

At the stage of developed socialism labour discipline and stability of labour collectives in each sector of production assume added importance, while the most efficient use of every hour and every minute of working time and strict observance of internal work regulations sharply increase in significance. There are a number of factors responsible for that.

The scope of production in this country has grown enormously. The Soviet Union's present daily output of some basic items has grown since, for instance, in 1965 as follows: electric power by 140 per cent, steel by 60 per cent, crude oil (including gas condensate) by 140 per cent, mineral fertiliser by 200 per cent, cement by 70 per cent, radio sets and radiogramophones by 60 per cent, TV sets by 100 per cent, and household refrigerators by 250 per cent.

Basic production assets have grown considerably. Towards the beginning of 1980 they ran to a total of over one trillion roubles. Incomplete use of basic assets results in a considerable loss of returns on investments and a reduction in output. This is particularly manifest in the conditions of scientific and technological progress, where obsolescent plant is quickly replaced with advanced equipment, and the cost of new technology grows appreciably along with its increasing sophistication. Its inefficient use is causing great damage to the national economy. Today the loss of only one minute on a country-wide scale is equivalent to the loss of over one million roubles' worth of industrial products and is bound to be still more costly as time goes on.

A further deepening of the social division of labour is in evidence. It is expressed in the growing co-operation and specialisation in pro-

duction, which makes economic ties more complex and requires constant maintenance of efficient interaction between all sectors of the national economy. A modern enterprise, which is simultaneously a supplier and consumer of products, is linked with dozens and sometimes with hundreds of partners. A delay in fulfilling contractual orders breaks the chain of deliveries based on co-operation. To prevent this from happening it is necessary to tighten the requirements for order to be maintained in production, in each department of an enterprise. Normal operation of enterprises is secured by accurate co-ordination, concerted and efficient actions, strict discipline and responsibility of all personnel involved in production. Stoppages in the work of one department, section, or team may result in losses of thousands of roubles' worth of produce, nullify in some cases the efforts of an entire labour collective and eventually adversely affect the performance results of a whole sector of the economy.

The need for further strengthening socialist labour discipline is linked with the task of raising members of communist society and further developing the socialist way of life. Conscious discipline is a characteristic feature of the citizen of the new world. Enhancement of the discipline of each is an indispensable prerequisite for reinforcing the collectivist principles in all Soviet life, the democratic character of Soviet society.

Relying on Lenin's priceless heritage, on a truly scientific analysis of the current development trends in mature socialist society, the Communist Party is constantly at work to secure continued enhancement of socialist labour discipline, to create the conditions for its gradual transformation into communist discipline.

The drive to advance production efficiency has become pivotal to the Party's entire economic policy at the present stage. Increasing the impact of the intensity factors on the country's economic progress implies strict labour discipline, the responsibility of each worker for efficient performance of his duties.

We have the required objective prerequisites for continued strengthening of labour discipline, for consistent reduction of manpower fluctuation. They stem from Soviet society's entry into the stage of mature socialism, which is characterised by a new, qualitatively higher level of development of material and technological basis,

continued perfection of relations of production and a change in the character of labour.

The advanced cultural and general educational standards, the heightened awareness of the masses, their intensified initiative both in production and in the socio-political sphere have become one of the key prerequisites for strengthening labour discipline. The development and implementation of large-scale social programmes for advancing the people's well-being have largely contributed to strengthening labour discipline and raising production efficiency. They refer primarily to measures for improving the system of wages and salaries to reinforce uniformity in pay rates for workers of identical qualifications employed on jobs with roughly similar working conditions. This uniformity was ensured along with well-grounded wage differentials depending on the complexity, conditions and intensity of work, taking into account the location of enterprises and their economic importance.

Solution of the problems of strengthening labour discipline and reducing manpower fluctuation requires a comprehensive approach and does not boil down only to measures based on wage incentives. The Party, local government, trade union and economic bodies have done over the last few years much work to create the most favourable conditions for the work, rest and leisure, education and advancing training of the working people. A broad programme of housing construction is being successfully carried into effect. Over the same period construction of general and vocational schools, hospitals, shops, community centres and other socio-cultural and service facilities has been carried out on a wide scale. Formation of stable labour collectives is also directly linked with drawing up and implementing social development plans of enterprises and associations, individual industries and regions.

Over the last few years measures have been drawn up and are being implemented successfully to reduce manpower fluctuation and stimulate long service at a place of employment. With this object in mind, long-service bonuses varying with the length of working record have been instituted, or the terms of entitlement to such bonuses have been widened substantially, for instance, on the railways, in the iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metal industries, in the coal, textile and

construction industries, and for farm machine operators. Additional annual holidays varying with the length of uninterrupted service have been introduced at many enterprises.

The implementation of measures outlined in the resolutions of the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, the Central Committee's plenary meetings, and Comrade Brezhnev's instructions, improvement of political education work have made it possible to strengthen labour discipline and reduce manpower fluctuation in the last few years. Important progress in this field has been achieved at many enterprises, in many industries and regions throughout the country. Loss of working time in industry was less in 1978 than in 1975. As evidenced by numerous surveys and statistics, however, the damage caused to the national economy by manpower fluctuation and infractions of discipline is still fairly large.

In estimating this phenomenon it should be borne in mind that in industry it takes quite some time for an employee to change a job. What is more, before a worker quits his job his productivity of labour is lessened, as a rule, and besides, he needs some time to learn to handle his new job properly.

Large losses of working time are caused by absenteeism, idle periods and leaves of absence authorised by management. All these facts point to the need to continue implementing various measures to strengthen labour discipline and reduce manpower fluctuation.

The problem of strengthening labour discipline has assumed high priority today, because one cannot ignore the new requirements made by modern technology and processes, the growing interdependence of industries and fields of production, the level of development attained by the national economy. Nor can one ignore the fact that certain economic management bodies, managers of associations and enterprises, Party, trade union and YCL organisations, Soviets of People's Deputies are not always keenly aware of the need for effective use of all working time, strict observance of internal work regulations, creating favourable conditions to stimulate production personnel to keep their jobs.

In many industries there are associations and enterprises where infractions of discipline have become a matter of course, no high-principled Party criticism is levied on absenteeism and other causes

of working time losses, and leading executives are not always held personally responsible for failures in strengthening labour discipline and securing order in the process of production.

The measures to strengthen labour discipline and reduce manpower fluctuation envisaged in the recent resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions conform to the principles and provisions of the Constitution of the USSR to the effect that observance of labour discipline is a matter of duty and honour for every able-bodied citizen, while evasion of socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialist community life. They also proceed from the premise that further strengthening of labour discipline, securing excellent organisation and order in all sectors of economic work are major factors in developing production and raising its efficiency.

The resolution has taken account of the suggestions of many labour collectives, Party and trade union organisations, leading executives of Ministries and government departments, associations and enterprises and front-ranking production workers. It also reflects the experience of a number of socialist countries in implementing measures to strengthen labour discipline and create stable labour collectives.

Strengthening of labour discipline and reduction of manpower fluctuation require the implementation of a variety of organising measures, regular and planned advancement of technology and processes, the standards of organisation of work and improvement of its conditions, enhancement of the effectiveness of material and moral incentives, the solution of a number of social development problems, consistent enforcement of measures envisaged in effective legislation, and intensified political education work. The comprehensive approach to the tasks in strengthening labour discipline predetermines the need to reinforce the unity of action of Party, local government and economic bodies, trade union and YCL organisations.

The effectiveness of a comprehensive approach to the problems involved in strengthening labour discipline is evidenced by the practical experience of many associations and enterprises, as well as of a

number of industries in general. For instance, at the Dnieper engineering plant the rate of manpower fluctuation is kept down within 5 to 6 per cent. The vast majority of young people, who make up the bulk of the work force, prefer not to change the trade chosen on joining the work force. Four of every five workers drafted into the Soviet Army return to their place of employment after being demobbed.

At the Leningrad Metal-Working Plant production association losses of working time have lessened by 20 per cent over the last few years, and the rate of manpower fluctuation, which had run at 15.2 per cent in 1974, dropped to 15.2 per cent in 1978. A high standard of labour discipline and a low rate of manpower fluctuation are characteristic of such enterprises as Moscow's Dynamo plant named after Kirov, the Lenpolygraphmash printing machines factory, the Lenin computer factory of Vilnius, and the Tiraspol clothes factory, to mention but a few. It should be noted that at these associations and enterprises no infraction of labour discipline is overlooked, as a rule, or left without corrective measures being taken. Cases of workers' dismissals at their own request are thoroughly examined, and measures are drawn up to reduce manpower fluctuation.

An analysis of statistics shows wide variations of indices of labour discipline and manpower fluctuation in different industries, regions, enterprises, and organisations. Not infrequently these indices differ substantially at enterprises of one and the same industry with identical working conditions, the same character of production, and roughly similar pay rates. For instance, in the production association 'Uralsmash' the rate of manpower fluctuation in 1978 was 13.2 per cent, whereas in the 'Uralelectrotyazhmash' association, which manufactures items of a similar character, the respective rate was 20.2 per cent. At Kiev's 'Tochelectropribor' production association the losses of working time due to absenteeism were only a fraction of the average rate at instrument-making enterprises. At the 'Stroimashina' building machinery plant of Mogilev, the roadbuilding machinery plant of Berdyansk, the 'Stroigidravlika' hydraulic building machinery plant of Odessa, the 'Electroinstrument' production association the losses of working time caused by absenteeism, stoppages, leaves of absence authorised by management are much smaller than the aver-

age rate at enterprises of the Ministry of Building, Road-Building, and Communal Engineering. In some Union Republics manpower fluctuation at building organisations subordinated to Ministries responsible for construction is roughly half less than at building organisations subordinated to executive committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies. All that is evidence to the effect that the Party, local government, and economic bodies, as well as public organisations, are in possession of sufficient potentialities which, if expertly used, secure strengthening of labour discipline and a reduction in manpower fluctuation.

A detailed analysis of this problem in individual industries and areas of the country, as well as directly at associations and enterprises has demonstrated the need for implementing a number of additional measures to secure continued strengthening of labour discipline, a reduction of manpower fluctuation in the national economy.

As demonstrated by practical experience, we have in evidence in this field all-round propagation of advanced know-how in organising work processes and production, improving working conditions, enhancing the responsibility of leading personnel, particularly team leaders, foremen, shop superintendents, section chiefs and directly of labour collectives themselves for strengthening labour discipline. In this context special attention should be paid to broad application of the team form of organising and stimulating labour, which is to become the main one in the 11th Five-Year Plan period and to enhancing its role in strengthening labour discipline.

As shown by the record of work of many associations, enterprises, and Ministries the team form of labour organisation, if correctly applied, secures a reduction in losses of working time and faster learning of professions and specialties by young workers, and lessens manpower fluctuation. In industries where collective forms of organisation and remuneration of labour are used on a wide scale manpower fluctuation is, as a rule, low, while infractions of labour discipline are insignificant. For example, at enterprises of the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building, the Ministry of Power Engineering, the Ministry of the Motor Industry, where almost half the work-force is involved in the team form of labour organisation, the rate of manpower fluctuation is much lower than at associations and enterprises

of the Ministry of Electrical Engineering, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industries, the Ministry of Machine Tool Construction, where the team form of organisation involves less than one-third of personnel. In the building organisations of the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, the USSR Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Transport Construction, where 25 to 34 per cent of the work force has been transferred to the group piecework system, manpower fluctuation is almost half below the corresponding indices in other construction Ministries.

In view of the effectiveness of collective forms of organising and remunerating labour in diverse sectors of production it is mandatory to implement consistently measures to introduce the group piecework system, integrated and comprehensive teams, cleaning and transportation teams, units and teams on the time work system of pay rates, etc. Teams must be given regular aid in improving their work, in selection and placement of personnel, in securing a fair sharing of collective earnings in accordance with the contributions of each to the overall performance results. Of great significance is enhancement of the role played by councils of production teams and councils of team leaders in discussing problems involved in organising production and strengthening labour discipline, as well as in employment and dismissal of personnel. The effectiveness of collective forms of organisation and remuneration of labour is directly connected with selection of team leaders from among the best qualified workers who have a creative approach to work and enjoy prestige among their workmates.

It should be borne in mind that all measures to strengthen labour discipline should be carried out with direct involvement of Party, trade union, and YCL organisations in strict compliance with labour legislation and statutory provisions in all activities of work teams.

The standards of labour discipline and order in production largely depend on executives responsible for a given area of work and by virtue of their official position are directly informed of all instances of their violation.

With the object of enhancing responsibility the indices characteristic of the standards of labour discipline, just as the indices of per-

formance of plan assignments must be made the basic criteria for assessing the efficiency of shop superintendents, foremen, and team leaders. Important social and economic problems involved in intensifying material and moral stimulation (assessment of performance results of corresponding sections, distribution of housing and accommodation in pre-school childcare centres, etc.) must be examined and decided with their indispensable participation. Labour collectives have an extremely great role to play in strengthening discipline in production, in securing strict observance of internal regulations. The influence of labour collectives on negligent workers is more often than not more effective than the application of various administrative sanctions. In addition, public and disciplinary penalties applied to offenders against labour discipline should be meted out in accordance with resolutions passed by workers' meetings.

Many of those quitting their jobs explain their reasons for resignation by unfavourable working conditions and their employment on arduous manual jobs. In view of that, beginning from the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the Ministries, associations, and enterprises are to be set targets for reducing the share of manual labour.

Simultaneously, a great role is to be played by comprehensive plans now being compiled to reduce the application of manual labour and improve its conditions on a regional scale, broadly using internal resources to follow the example of industries of Moscow and Leningrad, the Zaporozhe, Kuibyshev, and Chelyabinsk regions, the Latvian Republic, as well as a number of other Republics, regions, and towns.

The proportion of the work-force employed on manual jobs in the Zaporozhe region over the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be reduced by half through measures to be implemented. In the Chelyabinsk region, which has initiated a considerable reduction in arduous manual work through 100 per cent registration of all labour-intensive processes, the work force employed on manual jobs will be reduced almost by 47,000 persons, and working conditions are to be improved roughly for 180,000 persons.

Improvement of the system of employment is of major significance for reducing losses of working time. According to available statistics, the period of job selection by citizens aided by relevant services is shorter by an average of ten days than the time a person needs to find a job on his own. As indicated by the experience of some towns, the efficiency of job placement services is substantially greater where information of the public about the demand for labour and employment are provided by special bureaus. Executive Committees of Local Soviets of People's Deputies effectively help improve the operation of job-placement bureaus.

According to statistics, young workers under 30 and those with a record of work up to three years at a given enterprise account respectively for almost two-thirds and about three-fourths of the total number of persons resigning of their own accord. Therefore, it is necessary to increase attention to young people, particularly those who have taken a job for the first time, to contribute in every way to improvement of their occupational skills and to their involvement in the affairs of their collective; to set up at associations, enterprises, and organisations special commissions for instruction to young people, to develop broadly the movement of worker tutors and enhance their prestige. The resolution provides for the institution of the honorary title 'Merited Worker Tutor.' Encouragement of young members of personnel to long uninterrupted service is largely facilitated by using an effective system of their professional promotion, which is being successfully employed at a number of enterprises. For instance, at the Volzhsky car factory young workers of the most common trades, who have attained top rating in their specialities, are afforded the possibility to learn the more sophisticated trade of an instrument fitter, a universal fitter, or an adjuster. Thus, skilled workers are recruited for training, as a rule, from the midst of young personnel.

Establishment of stable labour collectives is closely linked with the spread of advanced methods of work, perfection of the system of material and moral incentives. To strengthen labour discipline and reduce manpower fluctuation great attention is attached to increasing control over the application of effective pay rates and work quotas, particularly over introduction of quotas for work of equal intensity on jobs with roughly identical standards of work organisation and

technical facilities. This largely ensures the necessary correspondence between a worker's labour inputs and remuneration. At the same time, labour collectives and public organisations must be more broadly involved in a revision of established quotas of labour inputs and making amendments in effective pay rates.

The effectiveness of measures in further improving work organisation, remuneration and intensity rates is largely determined by their influence on strengthening labour discipline and reduction in manpower fluctuation. In this context it is evidently necessary to secure in the future as well corresponding advantages in remuneration of persons employed on jobs with arduous and harmful working conditions, on night jobs, as well as on jobs in the country's northern and eastern areas. Keen attention should be given to stimulating the interest of young workers in prompt learning of a trade and in enhancement of their occupational proficiency.

Success in stimulating personnel to keep their jobs largely depends on the degree of attention paid to the entire range of problems involved in improving their housing, cultural and everyday living conditions. It is necessary to ensure that construction of dwelling houses, everyday service and socio-cultural facilities should be completed by the time of commissioning enterprises. It is also important to provide housing accommodation for personnel at a reasonable distance from their place of work. It is necessary to improve the procedure of distributing new housing, taking account of the distance to the place of employment and to provide, guided by this criteria on, better facilities for exchange of apartments between residents.

Simultaneously it is envisaged to encourage broad-scale development of housing co-operatives directly under an enterprise, authorising it to build individual houses for its personnel. To establish stable collectives it is important to permit enterprises to use a larger share of incentives funds for co-operative and individual housing construction. By agreement with the trade-union committee and in keeping with recommendations from labour collectives, managers of enterprises are now empowered to render material aid without compensation and partly repay bank credits for co-operative and individual housing construction to personnel with a working record of at least

five years at a given place of employment and to newlyweds with a service record of at least two years. In the event of dismissal of a worker at his request without a good motive or for an infraction of labour discipline free aid or sums paid to repay bank credit should be restored by the beneficiary to the enterprise within five years.

Great unproductive labour inputs are caused by the practices, which have become quite common over the past few years, of involvement by local bodies of industrial and office personnel in various kinds of work outside their regular duties. This results in a large waste of labour, disrupts the normal operation of enterprises, and stimulates management to keep redundant manpower 'for a rainy day'. It is necessary to introduce order in this field, to put an end to depersonalisation and parasitism. Managers and public organisations must strictly abide by effective instructions forbidding meetings, conferences, athletic contests, amateur art reviews, and other events of this kind during working time.

The standards of labour discipline are also affected by major shortcomings in the schedules of work of enterprises providing services to the public. According to a 1979 statistical survey, more than 50 per cent reception rooms of everyday service establishments and post offices are open until 6:00 p.m., over 80 per cent of the operations of house-management offices and their repair services are handled in the daytime, while most residents are at work, and one in every three consumer goods shops is open until 6:00 p.m. or 6:30 p.m. This is inconvenient for customers and results in losses of working time. The Ministries, government departments, the executive committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies should revise the time-tables of public services.

Encouragement of personnel with a long record of conscientious work at one enterprise or in one organisation, on one collective or state farm is an effective means of strengthening labour discipline. In this connection a number of additional measures are to be implemented.

For example, a long record of impeccable service of factory and office workers and collective farmers at one place of work will be taken into consideration in nominating them for government awards for high labour achievements.

As is known, at present a 10 per cent pension increment is granted for an uninterrupted service record of over 15 years or for a general service record of at least 35 years for men and at least 30 years for women. To increase pension advantages for personnel with a long continuous service record, in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period this increment will be raised from 10 to 20 per cent for factory and office workers who have a record of at least 25 years and, in the case of women having children, at least 20 years of uninterrupted service at one enterprise, institution, or organisation (if they are entitled to a pension increment based on a general service record). It should be noted that the above-mentioned increment within the limits of 10 per cent of a pension is on top of the maximum envisaged in legislation.

Improvement of the order of entitlement to leaves of absence is of essential importance for the formation of stable collectives. In individual industries and for some categories of workers—in the iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metal industries, on the railways, in the timber industry, in construction, for workers of leading trades of the Ministry of Light Industry, for tractor and machine operators in agriculture—additional holidays are awarded for a continuous service record.

In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period factory and office workers entitled to an annual holiday of 15 working days who are employed on basic and auxiliary jobs in some productive sectors of the national economy are to be granted an additional holiday for a continuous service record. On the other hand, factory and office workers shirking work (or reporting for work in a drunken state) may be denied such a holiday fully or partially.

Granting holidays without pay is common practice in industry and on construction sites. In the total of working time losses registered in statistics of industry more than 50 per cent are caused by leaves of absence authorised by management. In certain cases such leaves have been used to cover up absenteeism. To introduce order in this field it is envisaged that holidays without pay may be granted to factory and office workers only by authorisation of the general or section manager formulated in an official instruction. During the discussion of the draft Constitution of the USSR and in later years working people in numerous statements made at meetings and in the press

made various suggestions aimed at tightening the responsibility for breaches of labour discipline. It has been acknowledged as useful to apply additional sanctions to offenders against labour discipline and habitual quitters.

Managers of associations, enterprises, organisations and collective farms and trade union organisations should take fuller advantage of their powers to apply disciplinary and material penalties to offenders against labour discipline: to deny them accommodation at sanatoria and holiday homes on privileged terms, to defer their entitlement to new housing accommodation, to revise the schedule of their annual holiday and to take other sanctions.

Of major importance is the institution of a procedure whereby factory and office workers may cancel a labour contract and resign a job of their own accord only after a one-month notice in written form instead of 14 days as stipulated in earlier legislation. This will make it easier to employ replacements in good time. Moreover, prolongation of warning time pending resignation may to a certain extent prevent ill-considered decisions to quit caused by various misunderstandings of an accidental character in the routine of business.

Persons resigning of their own free will without good reason twice or more times during a calendar year are to be denied a continuous record of service. All this will tighten sanctions against job switchers disorganising production.

Accurate registration of working-time losses and breaches of labour discipline are of great importance for reducing manpower fluctuation and improving the use of working time. It is known, for instance, that a considerable share of working-time losses, particularly during shift periods, as well as some cases of absenteeism is not put on record, which creates the wrong impression of good discipline. Government bodies, scientific and public organisations are obliged to study regularly and analyse in comprehensive detail the effectiveness of various measures being implemented to secure better registration and use of working time and strengthen labour discipline.

The significance of educational work for strengthening labour discipline is very great. The importance of socialist labour discipline should be discussed in detail within the system of Party instruction courses, economic education, YCL political training, and in other

forms of mass-scale propaganda. It is mandatory to make systematic efforts to educate members of labour collectives in the spirit of dedication to their profession and their enterprise, intolerance of any manifestation of disorganisation and breaches of discipline. It is important to oppose resolutely a conciliatory, permissive, liberal attitude to offenders against labour discipline, relying not only on sanctions envisaged in labour legislation but also on the opinion of the labour collective, and the mass media.

The press, radio and television broadcasting services are called upon to describe vividly and convincingly the economic, moral, and social significance of labour discipline, to spread widely the experience of labour collective known to have high standards of conscious labour discipline.

To secure success, measures to strengthen labour discipline and reduce manpower fluctuation should be of a comprehensive character and provide for a variety of steps of the economic and social order. By fulfilling the tasks outlined in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers 'On Improvement of Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Advancement of Production Efficiency and the Quality of Work', the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee 'On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Work' and 'On Improvement of Work in the Maintenance of Law and Order and Intensifying the Struggle Against Law Violations' the Soviet people will make another long step forward in advancing the standards of socialist labour discipline, production efficiency and the quality of work.

Strengthening labour discipline in all sectors of the national economy, improvement of the use of manpower resources are a major factor of success in solving the problems involved in continued development of the socialist economy, advancing the material and cultural standards of life of the people. Active and regular participation in this work is a duty of all citizens and every labour collective.

Following Lenin's Behests, the Path of the October Revolution

**Report at a ceremonial meeting dedicated
to the 63rd anniversary of the Great
October Socialist Revolution at the
Kremlin Palace of Congresses, 6th
November 1980**

Dear comrades,

Every epoch knows quite a few memorable events, remarkable dates and illustrious names. Standing out in bold relief among them, however, are events which in their scope and depth of impact on the entire course of history extend far beyond the limits of their time; they belong not only to the past but also to the present and future of all humanity.

One of such historic events of worldwide significance was the Great October Socialist Revolution carried out by Russia's workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the great Lenin.

The victory of the October Revolution marked the beginning of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

On behalf of the Party's Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government I extend my heartfelt congratulations on this holiday, the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to all members of this audience, to our heroic working class, our hard-working collective farmers, the people's intelligentsia, servicemen of the valiant Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force, to all Soviet citizens.

We warmly welcome our guests who have arrived in the homeland of the October Revolution and convey our revolutionary greetings to all our foreign friends, comrades and associates in the struggle for the triumph of our great common ideals.

As the epoch-making day of November the 7th, 1917 recedes farther and farther into the mists of history, the greatness of the October Revolution, its impact on the development of the world revolutionary process, on the destinies of nations assume ever more majestic proportions.

The ideas of Leninism, the fresh winds of the October Revolution are to be seen in the spectacular progress of the Soviet people building communism, in the impressive record of the socialist sister nations, in the successes of the world communist and working-class movement, in the working people's anti-imperialist struggle for their liberation and independence, in the inflexible determination of the peoples to achieve lasting peace on earth.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people are celebrating this anniversary of the October Revolution in a situation of broad preparations for the 26th Congress of the CPSU. In this responsible period the militancy and revolutionary creativity of the Party, the noble desire of communists, all Soviet people to live and work in accordance with Lenin's behests, to advance steadily towards communism along the luminous path of the October Revolution are finding an especially forceful expression.

FOLLOWING THE PATH OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

This October Revolution anniversary is an event which combines the spirit of solemnity and businesslike efficiency, majestic revolutionary accomplishments and orientation on the communist future.

Vladimir Lenin said: "On the day of commemorating the anniversary of the Revolution one should cast one's mind eye down the road it has traversed. We had to begin our revolution in a situation of formidable difficulties, the like of which will not be faced by any of the future workers' revolutions in the world, and so it is crucially

important that we try and review in general the road we have traversed to see what has been achieved over the period..."¹

Unafraid of either the novelty of its tasks or difficulties and obstacles, the young Soviet Republic boldly took the road of socialist transformations untrodde theretofore.

Overcoming the bitter resistance of all forces of the old world, the labouring masses, once they had taken over power, abolished the domination of private ownership, exploitation and oppression and accomplished the most important task of the revolution, one of construction.

The people who had learned freedom of historical creativity carried out socialist industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture, and a cultural revolution.

These were inspiring revolutionary and labour accomplishments which renovated the life of the vast country.

The Soviet people defended the gains of the October Revolution and the socialist system in a life and death struggle against fascism and saved world civilisation.

In the year of the 35th anniversary of that victory we again cast a retrospective look at the heroic exploits of those grim and unforgettable years.

Courage on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War, selfless work on the home front will live forever in the people's memory, inspiring new generations to splendid deeds in the name of the country.

When the war was over, the Soviet people accomplished another brilliant exploit, one of economic recovery. The post-war five-year plans became milestones in the all-round progress of this country.

The vital force of the socialist system, the heroic work of the Soviet people have advanced this country to new summits of economic might, scientific and cultural progress.

The construction of developed socialist society is a world historic achievement, the main result of the revolutionary transformative activities of the Party and people.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 137.

The new Constitution of the USSR, the fundamental law of the world's first socialist state of the whole people is a majestic achievement of the October Revolution, the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

Our ascent to the summits of developed socialism, the implementation of the Party's general line mapped out by the 23rd, 24th and 25th Congresses, our successes in communist construction are linked inseparably with the multifarious activities of the Leninist Central Committee, its Politburo headed by Leonid Brezhnev.

The Party and people have profound respect for Comrade Brezhnev as their wise leader, an outstanding statesman of the present age, a tireless fighter for communism and peace, a man with a warm heart and a brilliant mind who is keenly sensitive to everything that concerns the work and life of millions of people.

The Soviet Union is confidently advancing in all directions of communist construction.

Its economic potential is truly enormous. In only five days we produce a national income equivalent to its annual volume in 1928, on the eve of the First Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet Union accounts for one-fifth of the world's total industrial output. It leads the world in production of steel, oil (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ore, coke, mineral fertiliser, cement, Diesel and electric locomotives and some other lines of produce.

In their day-to-day life, the Soviet people perform truly titanic work, building new towns, gigantic railway projects, modern factories and plants, the world's biggest hydraulic and atomic power stations, developing the natural wealth of the Far North, Siberia and the Soviet Far East, transforming the non-black earth zone of the Russian Federation and developing successfully the economy and culture of all Union Republics.

The heroic working class plays an outstanding role in all accomplishments of this country. With its high socialist awareness, profound devotion to the Party's ideals, and splendid traditions, the working class is proudly carrying the torch of the Great Revolution in the vanguard of builders of communism.

In keeping with the Party's present agrarian policy outlined in the resolutions of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the USSR Central

Committee tremendous work has been carried out to secure further progress of agriculture. Over the last three five-year plan periods about 400,000 million roubles has been invested in this sector of the economy. This has made it possible to reinforce substantially the material and technical facilities and raise the productivity of agriculture: over the last three five-year periods its average annual gross volume has grown 50 per cent.

Now harvesting work is nearing completion in the crop fields of the country.

The crop farmers of Kazakhstan have done some splendid work. They have honourably lived up to the pledge they gave to Comrade Brezhnev, having put more than 1000 million poods of grain into the state granaries.¹ During the current five-year plan period the Republic has four times harvested more than 1000 million poods of grain. Such bumper harvests are becoming a matter of course in Kazakhstan. Such are the rich fruits of the legendary virgin land development areas.

A good record of grain procurement has been earned by the farmers of the Kuban Valley, the Stavropol Region, the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, the Orenburg, Kharkov, Novosibirsk and Belgorod regions and other areas of the country.

A record cotton harvest of more than 9.5 million tons has been taken in. The cotton farmers have surpassed by a considerable margin the targets outlined in the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The farmers of Uzbekistan have harvested more than 6 million tons of raw cotton—a remarkable achievement. Spectacular results have also been achieved by the cotton farmers of Azerbaijan and Tajikistan.

Allow me to convey the heartfelt gratitude of the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government to all those who have worked selflessly to grow and reap a bumper harvest.

It is a great advantage of socialism that it has placed the great achievements of human genius at the service of progress and peace. We are lawfully proud of Soviet scientific progress, of having pioneered the peaceful uses of atomic energy and blazed the trail into outer space.

¹ Pood (Russ.). A Russian weight equivalent to 36.1 pounds. Translator.

In less than twenty years unprecedented progress has been made from Yuri Gagarin's first space flight, which delighted the whole world, to the present-day space expeditions lasting for months.

The world's nations followed with rapt attention the recent flights of mixed spacecrews consisting of cosmonauts from the Soviet Union and other socialist sister nations. These flights epitomised the strong bonds of friendship among the nations of the socialist community.

As the possibilities and resources of the state steadily grow, the material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people are satisfied ever more fully and comprehensively.

In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period a broad social programme has been implemented and a further growth of the people's well-being secured. The consumption funds are to grow by more than 60,000 million roubles. Every year 10 to 11 million Soviet people hold house-warming parties. Over the last three five-year periods the real income of the population has almost doubled.

Wages and salaries—the main source of income of the working people—are steadily growing. During the last fifteen years the output of consumer goods has increased 150 per cent. Their assortment has been renewed and their quality is being improved. In the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan alone a total of 790,000 million roubles' worth of consumer goods has been manufactured, which is 170,000 million roubles more than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period.

The social consumption funds play an ever more substantial role in advancing the well-being of the people. In the current Five-Year Plan period they have amounted to the staggering sum of 527,000 million roubles.

Our economic achievements and social gains generate in Soviet people a new charge of energy and inspiration, strengthen their confidence in the future and their mood of optimism.

Of course, the Party is keenly aware of the outstanding problems, shortcomings and difficulties in the economic field. In his profound speech at the October 1980 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev presented a comprehensive analysis of the key problems of this country's socio-economic development and summed up important conclusions on the cardinal questions of communist construction.

This speech is permeated with concern for the well-being of the people and contains ideas and principles of fundamental importance which the CPSU is following in preparation for its 26th Congress.

To bring into full play our enormous economic potential and the advantages of the planned socialist economy, to place all reserves at the service of the national economy, to overcome resolutely and vigorously shortcomings and omissions in economic work—such is the central political task of today formulated by the Party.

In compliance with these principles work is under way to draft the guidelines for economic and social development of the USSR for the next five years and for a longer period.

It is the duty of all Party, government and economic bodies, the duty of every Soviet citizen today to work conscientiously to advance our economy to a still higher level, to create the conditions for continued improvement of the life of the Soviet people.

The Party regards securing continued advancement of agriculture, an increase in production of foodstuffs and raw materials for industry as a key socio-economic task.

On Comrade Brezhnev's initiative a comprehensive food-production programme is being drawn up, which is to combine into a whole all problems of development, planning, management and financing agriculture and related industries.

In the first year of the new Five-Year Plan large investments are to be made in agriculture, and large quantities of machinery and mineral fertiliser are to be made available to the farms. All this should be used frugally to increase output of farm produce, secure its preservation, high-quality processing and delivery to the consumer in good condition.

Every Party organisation and every labour collective should do their stint in improving food supplies to the population, in widening the assortment and improving the quality of consumer goods. The Soviets of People's Deputies, all Ministries and government departments are to play a responsible role in this great and important matter.

It is necessary to ensure unconditional fulfilment of plan assignments for consumer goods manufacture, to put to the best advantage

the possibilities and resources available, to notice in good time, to support and widely promote every useful initiative.

The Communist Party and the Soviet State has no greater concern than that for the well-being of the people.

To achieve high ultimate performance results in the national economy the Party approaches the development of basic industries—power, chemistry, metal manufacturing, general engineering, capital construction and transport—from positions of heightening economic efficiency and intensifying all social production.

Higher development rates of the atomic power industry, a curtailment in the share of oil used by electric power stations, a rapid increment in output of natural gas, more rational application of traditional and new energy sources, development and introduction of high-production and economical equipment and energy-saving technologies will secure more stable supplies of fuel and energy to the national economy.

Successful development of the chemical industry depends primarily on speedy commissioning and maximum use of operating capacities.

It is necessary to increase production of plastics, chemical fibres, household chemicals, mineral fertiliser, herbicides and pesticides. The modern large-scale chemical industry is the main foundation for a substantial increase in the efficiency of the economy.

Steel-makers will have to handle a great deal of work to improve the quality and widen the assortment of metal products, increase output of the most economical types of rollstock and tubes, to renew basic equipment, to improve technological processes and supplies of raw materials.

Scientific and technological progress in all sectors of the national economy, growth of labour productivity are determined above all by the level of general engineering. Every new machine-tool and piece of machinery manufactured at Soviet plants should embody the last word in science, engineering design, accurate economic estimates and advanced knowhow.

Increasing the scope of production, deepening its specialisation and co-operation in production, broad-scale development of areas of Siberia and the Far East make the importance of transport, especially railways, as great as never before. Development of advanced types of

transport, primarily pipeline, improvement of technological facilities of railways, resolute elimination of irrational runs and demurrage, securing neat interaction between all elements of the transportation system are a first priority task facing the Party, local government and economic bodies, the immediate duty of all workers of the transport services.

The efforts of the multi-million contingent of building workers must be concentrated on projects nearing completion, unconditional fulfilment of plans of housing construction and improving its quality. Dispersion of funds, material and manpower resources, manifestations of parochialism and a narrow departmental approach in capital construction cannot be tolerated.

The common task facing workers in all sectors is to boost output and improve product quality through broad application of scientific and technological achievements, advanced knowhow, effective use of available productive capacities. This will enable a reduction in investments, secure quicker returns and release manpower resources to be employed in other sectors of the national economy.

Socialist society enforces the principle of rational and economical use of all material, financial and manpower resources.

The economic interests of society, the standards of communist morals, the patriotic sentiments of the Soviet people cannot be reconciled with a psychology of extravagance.

Mismanagement can always be traced to a culprit. However, as a group of deputies of the Orel regional Soviet write in *Izvestia*, "few of those guilty of damage to or waste of public property are brought to account before the law. This, however, should be done, and regardless of the offender's rank for that matter." This is a correct stand consistent with national interests. No extravagance can be tolerated in a society where a person's status is determined primarily by the results of his work, a society which can distribute only what has been produced and saved for the common good. Every communist, YCL member, trade unionist, every Soviet citizen must become an active fighter for economy and frugality.

The economic mechanism and organisation of management of the national economy must fully conform to the Party's economic strategy. In accordance with resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee

and the Government a system of measures is being implemented to improve planning and the organisational structure of management to intensify the role of economic levers and incentives in stepping up scientific and technological progress, securing rational use of resources and achieving high ultimate results in production.

As was emphasised at the October 1980 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, this important work should be carried on with still greater persistence, efficiency and energy so as to complete the regearing of the economy to intensive development in the eighties.

The Soviet people have honoured this anniversary with remarkable successes in work achieved thanks to the broad development, on the initiative of the working people of Moscow and Leningrad, of a socialist emulation drive to fulfil the assignments of this year by the 63rd anniversary of the October Revolution and to secure stable work performance in 1981.

Workers of Moscow industries have completed the ten-month assignments for marketing products ahead of schedule. Scores of thousands of Moscow workers have already fulfilled their personal five-year assignments. This is, indeed, a great triumph of labour.

Millions of working people in all Union Republics undertook to overfulfil their quotas and have honourably lived up to their pledge. The ten-month plan for industrial production has been fulfilled. Increase in the productivity of labour accounts for three-fourths of the total increment.

Every new day brings new evidence of the widening scope of the nationwide emulation drive under the slogan 'Complete the five-year plan by an all-out effort. Honour the 26th Party Congress with shock work!' This vividly illustrates the patriotism of Soviet citizens, their determination to earn a splendid record of work dedicated to the Party Congress.

Allow me to convey our heartfelt gratitude to all those who are adding to the might of this country by their enthusiastic work.

Let us praise the Red Banner labour collectives, trail-blazers of the Five-Year Plan marching in the vanguard of communist construction!

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY: ABSOLUTE AND GENUINE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

The entire history of the Soviet Union demonstrates the profundity and truth of Lenin's prevision that victory of socialism is impossible without full democracy.

Today we can proudly declare that developed socialism is precisely a society of genuine, full democracy.

The completeness of our democracy stems from the guaranteed rights and genuine freedoms proclaimed in the Constitution. Socialist democracy prevails in all spheres of social life:

the socio-economic sphere where public ownership and labour free from exploitation prevail;

the political sphere, where the people hold the reins of government and are directly involved in management of the affairs of society, where an indissoluble alliance of the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia has been established;

the cultural sphere, where in conformity with the purposes of communist construction all citizens are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creation.

Our democracy stems from the genuine equality of citizens of all nations and national minorities, from the unity of their rights and duties.

Soviet democracy has been developing for over six decades, and all this time our class enemies have been denigrating it. Today they are attacking the socialist world under the false pretences of defence of human rights and freedoms. All their exertions, however, are to no avail. People evaluate rights and freedoms by their practical guarantees. It is precisely in socialist reality that the working people see examples of truly humane and fair enforcement in daily life of the rights and freedoms of millions upon millions of plain people. No bourgeois democracy can grant anything like this to the working man.

The establishment of the Soviets, the development of democracy of a new type, and the consolidation of socialist statehood have been

inseparably linked with the revolutionary creativity of the masses led by the great Communist Party.

The Communist Party is a party of advanced revolutionary thought creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory, which enables it to see life in its entirety, with all its complexities and contradictions, to single out the main tendencies of social development, to plan scientifically the strategy and tactics of struggle for communism.

The Communist Party is a party of bold historical initiative and revolutionary action, which is confidently leading the labouring masses along the path of struggle in the name of great ideals.

In class battles, during the trials of war and in peace time the Communists are invariably in the vanguard. They have always led the way in the most dangerous and difficult ventures, stirring the energy, enthusiasm and courage of the masses by force of truthful words and personal example.

The Communist Party is a party of the working class, a party of the whole people, of socialist internationalism, intolerant of any manifestations of nationalism.

The Leninist Party admits to its ranks the most high-principled, honest, respected and dedicated people from the midst of the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia, who do not seek privileges in membership of a ruling Party but join it so as to be in the vanguard of builders and fighters for the great cause of the October Revolution.

This is why the Communist Party is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. This is why for the Soviet people it has become a native party they can always rely upon.

The Party highly values this trust. Service of the interests of the people is the supreme meaning of its revolutionary transformative activity.

A living, indissoluble link with the masses, close unity with the people are strikingly characteristic of the political image of the Leninist Party. The Soviet people unanimously support its home and foreign policies, the multifarious and fruitful activities of the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo headed by Leonid Brezhnev, dedicated champion of Lenin's immortal cause.

Comrade Brezhnev's remarkable theoretical, political, and organising activities are an estimable creative contribution to the science and

practice of communist construction, develop the Leninist principles of Party and government work, and are a splendid example of loyal service of the Party and people.

All these qualities have won him great prestige in the Party and deep affection of the people.

The greater the scope of our tasks, the wider the creativity of the masses and the more active the work of all public and government organisations, the higher the role and responsibility devolving on the Communist Party.

It is not accidental that the spearhead of ideological attacks of imperialist propaganda is directed against the Party's leading role in socialist countries to present in a distorted light relations between the Party, government and public organisations as administration by decree and petty tutelage on the part of the Party. These fabrications have no basis in fact whatsoever.

The CPSU exercises its leading role without substituting for other organisations; on the contrary, it displays constant concern that government and economic bodies and public organisations may work as efficiently as possible and fulfil the tasks facing them in a spirit of creativity.

Soviet society lives a full-blooded life. Every day is filled with intensive work, important events in the socio-political and cultural spheres.

The Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions, the YCL, creative unions of intellectuals and other organisations of working people are actively involved in these events.

The results of their activities are augmented by the fact that the Soviets, all organisations of working people, are united by their common ideological and political goals, and are working in concert as one team in the name of the people and their common communist cause.

The Party pays close attention to continued improvement of the work of the Soviets. These representative bodies enjoy great authority. A total of over 2,200,000 deputies have been elected to Soviets of all levels. Relying on a multimillion body of activists they take an active part in government, economic and cultural work. A law recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet has conferred on the

regional and territorial Soviets of People's Deputies broader rights and duties, which enable them to handle much more effectively the problems involved in comprehensive economic and social development of their regions, production of consumer goods, employment of manpower resources, improvement of working and living conditions of the population. Now it is especially important for these rights to be exercised in full and these duties to be fulfilled without fail.

The Soviet Union's most massive organisation of working people is the trade unions, which has over 127 million members in town and country.

They are actively and directly involved in developing social production and management, in organising socialist emulation campaigns and educational work on a nationwide scale and within each labour collective.

Invested with powers of legislative initiative, the Soviet trade unions act in bodies of government on behalf of labour collectives, all working people.

Trade union organisations have a deciding vote in a discussion of any question affecting the interests of the working people: conclusions and fulfilment of collective agreements with management, labour safety and improvement of living conditions, distribution of housing, employment and dismissals, setting wage rates and pay differentials. The trade unions own a broad network of sanatoria, holiday homes, prophylactic centres, tourist bases and sports facilities.

To widen the field of activities, to perfect the style and methods of work of the trade unions is to work for still greater effectiveness of our democracy, for enhancing the role of the trade unions as a Leninist school of government for millions, a school of economic management, a school of communism.

Our wonderful young people, the splendid Leninist Young Communist League bring the energy of youth and their initiative into all affairs of their native land. The Party and people have implicit faith in the young generation—the future of this country, in their unshakable allegiance to communist ideals.

Soviet women fruitfully apply their talents and energies in every sphere of social life, be it production or trade, health services or education, culture or science.

The warm comfort of family life is kept alive by women's hard-working hands and noble hearts. Mothers lavish their care and affection on children to raise them as worthy citizens of their country.

Let me convey our heartfelt thanks to Soviet women and express our profound, universal admiration for them.

All working people on earth admire the concern of our society and State for man, be it a newly born baby or a veteran grey with age. In this lies the tremendous force of attraction of socialism, its humane essence.

In all matters concerning the rights and dignity of Soviet man, of meeting his lawful interests, all government and economic bodies, all officials are strictly accountable for their actions.

Respect for and attention to man, the inseparability of his rights and freedoms from the performance of his duties by every citizen are a sacred principle of Soviet democracy nobody may ignore or contravene. The tremendous authority of public opinion, the justice of Soviet laws safeguarding the interests of the working people allow due order to be enforced where it is still being violated and to maintain a climate of security in the life and work of every Soviet citizen everywhere.

The working man—the spirit and creator of all beauty on earth—is and shall always be the supreme value of socialism.

Our homeland is a country of free large and small nations united in one friendly family—the Soviet people. The 60th anniversary of the Kazakh and Azerbaijan republics, the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet government in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the anniversaries of autonomous republics broadly celebrated by the Soviet people this year were a veritable triumph of the Leninist policy towards nationalities.

The unbreakable bonds of friendship and mutual respect linking our peoples are a great all-conquering force, the inexhaustible life-giving source of the power and prosperity of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Soviet society derives its strength from its ideological and political cohesion, the indissoluble alliance of the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia, the friendship of Soviet nations united

by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the great cause of communist construction.

The Party will continue doing all in its power for the growth and consolidation of the unity and brotherhood brought into being by the October Revolution and fortified by the triumph of socialism.

The election campaign going on within Party organisations on the eve of the Congress is exerting a tremendous influence on the entire socio-political atmosphere in this country.

Reports and elections are being completed within primary Party organisations operating in the midst of the masses, directly within labour collectives.

Party meetings and conferences are a thorough pre-Congress review of the forces of the Party, an exacting inspection of how every communist works and performs his Party and public duty, how intolerant he is of shortcomings and slips, how alien to complacency and self-conceit, how modest in private life. To assert the Party principles by one's every practical step in work, struggle and life, by one's honour and conscience means to live up to the high responsibility of a communist Leninist.

Ideological, political education work is a cause for the whole Party. This meaningful formula reveals the role and significance of ideology and education in the life of socialist society. The rich arsenal of ideological weapons, economic practices, the entire tenor of Soviet life are called upon to mould the finest ideological and moral qualities of Soviet man. Clearly worded, up-to-date, and authentic information and explanatory work must make for active involvement of ever broader masses of working people in discussion and fulfilment of the tasks facing Soviet society. At the same time intrigues of bourgeois propaganda should be actively resisted and the efforts to overcome survivals of the past and anti-social behaviour should not be relaxed even for a moment.

Relying on its experience, bringing to light latent reserves and possibilities, and carefully examining suggestions from working people, every Party organisation is making its concrete contribution to solving vital socio-economic and ideological education tasks.

The Soviet people are heirs to and continuers of the great achievements of the October Revolution. The advantages of the Soviet sys-

tem are brought into play by their constructive work in the spirit of creativity and their vigorous public activities. As Lenin said: "The great impetus which the great Revolution has given to the creativity of the people" is a strong guarantee of our achievements and victories.¹

The Soviet people have confidence in their future, because the future always belongs to society created by the masses themselves.

A POLICY OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The foreign policy of society governed by labour has always been and will be a policy of peace. As Comrade Brezhnev said in this context, "Peace is a permanent value for mankind. The banner of peace and co-operation among nations was raised aloft by Lenin. We will be loyal to this banner."²

The invariable orientation of Soviet foreign policy on a struggle against aggression and preparation for war, for lasting peace and the security of nations have won the Leninist Party and the Soviet Union enormous prestige in the international arena. All those who cherish peace and are concerned for the future of mankind look to the homeland of the October Revolution, the Leninist Party and Leonid Brezhnev. His indefatigable efforts to avert another world war, to promote friendship and mutual understanding among nations, his wisdom and far-sightedness in solving the most complicated international problems evoke feelings of profound respect for and heartfelt gratitude to Leonid Brezhnev among millions of people on earth and give them confidence in the eventual triumph of the ideals of peace.

The Soviet Union makes common cause with the socialist sister nations in upholding and consolidating peace and furthering social progress. The all-round political co-operation of the nations of the socialist community, their close interaction in the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and military fields is a guarantee of continued

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 80.

² *Materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee of June 23, 1980*. Moscow, 1980, p. 10.

growth of the might and influence of socialism, a dependable shield against any adventures by instigators of war.

This has been reaffirmed during Leonid Brezhnev's recent meetings with leaders of the fraternal parties and states. The closer the friendship between the socialist nations, the greater is the influence of world socialism, the more dependable international security and the stronger the cause of peace. Today we can say with satisfaction that for all the difficulties and obstacles, all attempts of reaction to turn back the clock of history, the positions of the forces of peace and socialism are being further consolidated.

The anti-imperialist character of the national liberation movement is being intensified. Many newly independent countries have chosen a socialist orientation, the path of socialist construction. Our co-operation with these countries is assuming ever wider scope. We have much in common with them in the struggle for peace and international security, for abolishing exploitation and imperialist plunder and for building an equitable society.

The Soviet Union invariably takes sides with fighters for social justice, freedom and a radiant future of nations.

The international working-class movement makes its voice more and more audibly heard in solving the cardinal problems of war and peace. Loyal to Lenin's behests, the CPSU invariably takes a stand for enhancing the international prestige of the communist movement, for its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle for peace, for meeting the vital needs of the peoples and for securing their rights is taking place in a complicated situation. The US imperialists and their accomplices are attempting to alter the objective course of world development, to disturb the approximate parity in the military strategic field. They have embarked on a path of undermining *détente*, aggravating international tension, stepping up the arms race, adventurist actions in various areas of the world and warlike anti-Sovietism.

Wherever a conflict breaks out the United States seeks to exacerbate the situation. It keeps an army of half a million officers and men beyond its national borders, is widening its old and setting up new military bases. In pursuance of its selfish ends, ignoring the vital interests of nations, it is seeking to entangle in a tight knot the

unresolved problems of the Middle East and is engaged in dangerous intrigues over the military conflict between Iraq and Iran.

The United States has recently proclaimed 'a new nuclear strategy', which has aroused natural protest and indignation throughout the world. The militarist circles are staking on nuclear blackmail. With cold-blooded cynicism they are planning variants of nuclear war of an increasingly adventurous character.

A year ago the United States and its NATO allies took a decision to deploy in countries of Western Europe new American medium-range nuclear missile systems aimed at targets in the territory of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty member nations. This is an extremely dangerous move, which is bound to intensify the arms race and the danger of war in Europe and elsewhere.

The Soviet Union came forward with important constructive proposals to check this dangerous trend of events. It is precisely this initiative that made possible talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe recently opened in Geneva.

In the present complicated international situation the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government are consistently pursuing a policy of peace and *détente* and doing everything necessary to safeguard the peaceful life of the Soviet people.

Needless to say, we cannot but draw the right conclusions from the increase in US foreign policy of tendencies dangerous to the cause of peace, from its attempts to solve international problems from positions of strength.

The Soviet Union will take all the necessary measures to safeguard its own security and the security of its allies, to defend the cause of peace and progress. Nobody should have any doubts on this score.

As for our relations with the United States, just as with any other country belonging to another social system, they can be developed only on a basis of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, non-infringement of each other's security interests. Firmly abiding by the principle of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union has never sought and is not seeking any unilateral advantages in its relations with the United States, nor is it striving for military superiority. We are in favour of developing mutually beneficial co-operation with this biggest country of the West in the interest of the Soviet and American

peoples, in the interest of *détente* and the preservation of peace. This policy of ours is free of fluctuations of the moment and has a stable character. We are aware of the fact that the state of Soviet-American relations has a great influence on the world situation in general. This makes it binding on one to have a keen sense of responsibility at all times and in all matters. In this context we express the hope that the new Administration at the White House will show a constructive approach to problems of relations between the two countries.

Growing concern of the peoples is caused by the joining of forces of imperialism and Peking hegemonism. Prodding one another to dangerous adventures in Asia and other areas of the world, they are attempting to cover up their aggressive designs and actions with fabrications about a 'Soviet military threat'. The slimmer their chances to mislead public opinion, the more vociferous the anti-Soviets. By its policy and actions the Soviet Union has long proved that it is not threatening or going to threaten anybody. This equally applies to China, with which we are also willing to maintain and develop normal relations.

The heroic struggle of the revolutionary people of Afghanistan, the assistance of the Soviet Union and support from the freedom-loving peoples of the world have frustrated the conspiracy of world reaction against revolutionary Afghanistan. The masterminds of the anti-Afghan campaign, primarily in the United States, Pakistan and China have failed to bar the Afghani people from a road to progress and to create another seat of tension on the Soviet Union's southern border.

The recent Soviet visit of Comrade Babrak Karmal, his talks with Soviet leaders have again demonstrated that relations between the two countries are relations of brotherhood, revolutionary solidarity and all-round co-operation.

Leonid Brezhnev declared in this context: "In its struggle to build a new society and defend the gains of its revolution Afghanistan can rely upon the support of the Soviet people in the future as well."¹

¹ Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union. 15-24 October 1980. Documents and records. Moscow, 1980, p. 20.

One can say with confidence that the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. The peoples of the world can and must do away with the military danger, to thwart the designs of those circles who have a stake not in peaceful co-operation among nations but in confrontation between them, in an endless arms race. The Party and the Soviet people will stint no strength and energy to achieve this noble goal.

We believe that any international problem can be solved through negotiation, with reasonable consideration of each other's interests. The Soviet Union is prepared to reach agreement on a reduction or prohibition of any weapons, above all nuclear weapons, on banning production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

The May conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member nations put forward a broad and constructive programme of specific steps to be taken to consolidate peace and to promote *détente*.

On the Soviet Union's initiative the current session of the UN General Assembly is discussing the question 'On Some Urgent Measures to Reduce Military Danger'. Other Soviet proposals on problems of disarmament and strengthening security remain valid.

We are prepared to make a constructive contribution to securing the success of the forthcoming Madrid review conference of the countries which attended the all-European Conference which may clear the way for a conference on military *détente* and disarmament in Europe.

Foreign economic relations play an important part in the cause of consolidating peace. We are determined to develop co-operation with all those willing to do business with us on mutually acceptable and mutually beneficial terms. We can see that the range of such countries is widening rather than narrowing. The Soviet Union will strictly abide by its commitments. We expect our partners to reciprocate.

The homeland of the October Revolution is consistently and unswervingly implementing its Leninist foreign policy of peace. It is approved and supported by the entire Soviet people. The CPSU and its Central Committee are confidently carrying aloft the banner of peace.

We firmly believe that the future of nations is not war and destruction but peace, construction and good-neighbourly co-operation.

We are determined to continue our struggle for this future to the best of our ability.

* * *

The Leninist Party and our people have accomplished a task of great honour and responsibility in blazing the trail for a revolutionary renovation of the world and opening a new chapter in the history of mankind.

Following the path of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union has won historic triumphs of worldwide significance. This path leads to the triumph of the radiant ideals of communism and peace, in the name of which the great Revolution was accomplished.

Celebrating the 63rd anniversary of the October Revolution together with all progressive mankind, the communists, all Soviet citizens are determined to achieve new spectacular successes on the eve of the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

Long live the great Soviet people building communism and fighting consistently for peace throughout the world.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the leading and guiding force of Soviet society.

Long live the great October Socialist Revolution!

Frontiers of Progress in Construction

From one Five-Year Plan to another the Soviet Union is ascending the stages of economic and social progress

Article in the magazine *Soviet Union*, No. 4, 1981

THE advance made by the Soviet State during its 63 years, of which—it would be relevant to recall here—about two decades were spent in wars unleashed upon it and on subsequent economic recovery, is truly spectacular. The 6th Congress of the CPSU, which riveted to Moscow the attention of hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world, presented an impressive panorama of present achievements of the Soviet Union. The report of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered by its General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, is an historic document and a great contribution to the theory of scientific communism. It outlines an inspiring programme of communist construction and advancing the well-being of the Soviet people, contains a profound and comprehensive analysis of the results of this country's progress in all spheres of social life.

The present edifice of the Soviet economy is being built up on a solid foundation. Today, in only five days we produce a national income equivalent to its annual volume in 1928, on the eve of the First Five-Year Plan. Over the last quarter-century the annual average rate of increment in national income, which is a concentrated expression of the economic potential of society, was double that of the United States.

The Soviet Union leads the world in output of steel, iron, crude oil (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ore, coke, cement, mineral fertilisers, diesel and electric locomotives, and other lines of produce. The share of this country in world industrial production before the Revolution was slightly over 4 per cent, in 1922 it dropped roughly to 1 per cent, whereas now it is as large as one-fifth. It is easy to imagine how steep this growth has been in absolute terms, recalling that world production was not marking time either.

The Soviet Union achieved spectacular successes in the seventies. In 1980 its industrial production was 80 per cent larger than it had been in 1970. Real per capita income grew 50 per cent. In the periods of the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans housing conditions were improved for over 107 million persons, i.e. over 40 per cent of the Soviet population.

The adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR, which is a veritable manifesto of developed socialism, was one of the most crucial events of the past decade. Soviet democracy was advanced to a still higher level. The fundamental law of the state of the whole people has widened the political rights of citizens and public organisations, enhanced the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the most widely representative bodies of government of the people, formulated more completely than ever before the socio-economic rights and freedoms of the working people and the specific guarantees of their realisation. It reaffirmed the character of the socialist way of life as one based on labour which is the main criterion determining the status of the individual in society, while concern for the well-being of the working people makes the content of government policy.

The all-round progress of Soviet society in the seventies was linked organically with the many-sided activities of the Communist Party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev, an outstanding Party leader and statesman, a tireless fighter for peace, security, and co-operation of nations. This progress cannot be separated from the consistent implementation of a foreign policy of peace by the Soviet Union, which regards peace and socialism as concepts that cannot be divorced from one another.

It is well known that in the last decade the Soviet Union put forward many important and constructive ideas and proposals aimed at improving the international situation. These efforts have yielded good fruit. And today, keenly aware of the danger posed by the attempts of Western reaction to whip up the arms race, to exacerbate confrontation between the two world systems we remain firmly confident that reason and a realistic policy meeting the aspirations and hopes of all peoples and the interests of all nations will prevail.

The CPSU Central Committee in its Report to the 26th Congress came forward with new major foreign policy initiatives opening the way to constructive negotiations on the most vital international problems. They are an organic extension of the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU. An appeal to governments and nations to consolidate international security and achieve a radical improvement in the international situation was again voiced from the supreme forum of Soviet communists in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

These new initiatives concern a substantial widening of the zone in which confidence-building measures are to be applied in the military field; the Soviet Union's willingness to have a discussion of the international aspects of the Afghan problem linked with the problems of security in the area of the Persian Gulf; a resumption of talks with the United States on limitation of strategic arms and their reduction, while preserving whatever progress has been made in this field up to now; establishment of a prestigious international committee, which would be able to prove the vital necessity of averting nuclear catastrophe; convening a special meeting of the Security Council attended by top-level leaders of member states of the Council, as well as leaders of other states should they so desire. Even this, far from complete, list of proposals which evoked a broad response in the world, is conclusive evidence of the Soviet Union's firm determination to promote *détente* and to preserve peace on earth.

"Indeed, the Soviet people are looking to the future with confidence," Leonid Brezhnev said. "Their optimism is not self-assurance of favourites of fate. Our people know full well that everything they have has been created by their own labours and defended at the cost of their own blood. We are optimists because we believe in the

strength of labour. Therefore, we believe in our country and in our people."

The Soviet people, who are closely rallied behind the CPSU, have started to implement the great and complex tasks set by the Party Congress, whose constructive character, as is unanimously pointed out by all genuine friends of peace, democracy and social progress, all unbiased foreign observers, is incontrovertible evidence of this country's genuine commitment to peace.

IMPRESSIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

The Tenth Five-Year Plan, the results of which were reviewed by the 26th Congress of the CPSU, holds an honourable place in the record of labour achievements of the Soviet people. During its years the Soviet Union has made important progress in all spheres of the economy, social development and culture.

This country's national wealth has grown. As compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan national income has grown by 400,000 million roubles, industrial output by 717,000 million roubles, agricultural production by 50,000 million roubles. More than 1200 large industrial enterprises have been put into service. Great work has been carried out to set up the Unified Power Grid of the USSR, which now covers a territory with a population of over 220 million. Oil output (including gas condensate) in Western Siberia has grown 110 per cent and of natural gas, 430 per cent.

Continued growth of heavy industry, the bedrock of the economy, has been assured. The economic potential of every Union Republic has increased substantially. The formation of large territorial production complexes continued.

A great deal of work has been done in agriculture. Investments in this field covering the full range of farming operations ran to over 170,000 million roubles, that is, over 27 per cent of their total volume. This has consolidated the material and technological basis of agriculture. The productivity of the agrarian sector has grown. Over the five-year period the annual average gross grain production reached an all-time record of 205 million tons. There has been an increase in the output of meat, milk, eggs, cotton and other kinds of agricultural

produce. Modern production is organically linked with science. Scientists, engineers, and designers in all Union Republics worked over these years to solve fundamental scientific problems, handled tasks of applied research, developed new specimens of technology, original manufacturing processes, securing for the Soviet Union a place of priority in many fields of R & D and making an effective contribution to scientific and technological progress in general.

The scope of application of new technology has widened, the technical standards of production have risen, as has its efficiency and product quality has been improved. An increment in labour productivity, which has grown by 17 per cent in the national economy as a whole, has accounted for 75 per cent of production increase in industry, for the total increase in agriculture, and for 95 per cent of increase in building and assembly work in the construction industry.

All activities of the Communist Party, all efforts of the Soviet Government in the economic field pursue the objective of improving steadily the standards of life, education and culture of the people, providing ever more favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual. The faster the growth of this country's resources, the richer—both materially and culturally—the Soviet people's life.

In the period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan four-fifths of national income was spent directly for public consumption, for housing construction and socio-cultural development. During these five years 334,000 million roubles more than in the period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan was earmarked for purposes related to the well-being of the people. Average earnings of factory and office workers increased almost 16 per cent and the pay rates for collective farmer, 26 per cent.

Keen attention was paid to solving the social problems in rural areas. As said in the foregoing, we are channelling large investments into the agrarian sector. However, not only the production aspect of the matter is important here. The social content of the changes taking place in the countryside is no less important. A change is in evidence in the character of labour, the skills of workers are being advanced as are also their cultural standards, and there is a notable levelling off in the material and living conditions of urban and rural residents.

MAKING THE PEOPLE'S LIFE BETTER

The 26th Congress of the CPSU approved the Guidelines for Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981–1985 and for the period up to 1990, which is a programme document summing up the experience in communist construction in the USSR and taking account of the record of other socialist countries in this field. It embodies the continuity of the Party's strategic guidelines on the fundamental problems of development with regard to the concrete conditions of the eighties. More than 120 million persons took part in a nationwide discussion of the draft Guidelines. This is striking evidence of the genuinely democratic character of the Soviet system, of full unity between the Party and people. Participants in the discussion expressed their views on a wide range of vitally important problems, made valuable suggestions, amendments and supplements, which improved the draft.

Shortly after the October Revolution Lenin pointed out that the exploiter system had left an inheritance of bitter distrust of the masses of anything that comes from the state. 'To overcome this', he underscored, 'is a formidable task which can be accomplished only by Soviet government at the cost of a long-sustained gigantic effort.'

The interest of Soviet citizens in success for the common cause of the Party and people, which became vividly manifest in the discussion of the Guidelines attests to the fact that Soviet Government has coped with this task. The new man who considers himself master of the country, who does not separate himself from the state and regards the interests of the nation as his own vital interests, is one of the greatest historical gains of socialism.

The social consumption funds out of which the Soviet Union finances free education and advancement of qualifications, free medical aid, pensions, various allowances and stipends, annual holidays and other privileges amounted to a total of 527,000 million roubles in the Tenth Five-Year-Plan period. In the overall income of an industrial worker's family they account for over 23 per cent, a collective farmer's family, for over 19 per cent. Payments and other benefits made available out of these funds in per capita terms grew to 438

roubles in 1980 from 354 roubles in 1975. This is consolidating the economic basis for enjoyment of rights guaranteed to Soviet citizens by the Constitution of the USSR.

Housing construction was continued on a broad scale. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period a total of 87,200 million roubles was invested in this field, which was 1500 million more than originally contemplated. The network of pre-school childcare centres, Young Pioneer camps, sanatoria, and holiday homes and boarding houses widened. The number of doctors grew from 834,000 in 1975 to 1 million in 1980.

It will be recalled that before the Revolution 72 of every 100 inhabitants of the Russian Empire were illiterate. Today the Soviet Union is a country of 100 per cent literacy. Over 80 per cent of the population employed in the national economy have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education. Transition to compulsory universal secondary education has been completed. Between 1976 and 1980 a total of 12.5 million youths and girls were given occupational training at vocational schools and 10 million persons graduated from higher and secondary specialised institutions of learning.

The Soviet Union entered the eighties with a mighty economy, an impressive scientific and technological potential, and highly qualified manpower. The results achieved are the outcome of implementing the Party's economic strategy mapped out at its 24th and 25th Congresses and meeting the vital interests of the working people.

A social programme has been planned to cover a variety of aspects of life—consumption and housing, working and living conditions, culture, rest and leisure.

Real *per capita* income is to grow 16 to 18 per cent. The average monthly earnings of factory and office workers will be increased 13 to 16 per cent, the pay rates of collective farmers employed in the public economy of collective farms will be raised 20 to 22 per cent. The share of payments and benefits made available out of social consumption funds will be augmented. They are to grow by 20 per cent and reach the level of 138,000 million roubles in 1985, which will make roughly 2000 roubles on the average for a family of four.

A food-production programme which will be an integral part of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan will be implemented consistently. It is

planned to develop the industrial sectors of group B (light industry and agriculture) at priority rates. The range and quality of foodstuffs and consumer goods will be improved. The turnover of state and co-operative retail trade is to increase by 22 to 25 per cent, while the stability of state retail prices of staple foodstuffs and consumer goods will be maintained.

High rates of housing construction will be maintained in all the years of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. Housing with a total floor space of 530 to 540 million square metres will be built, primarily in newly developed regions and rural localities. Builders will change over everywhere to new house designs securing better dwelling comfort.

The Guidelines, every line of which presents a clear vision of perspective, provide for a wide range of measures to create favourable conditions for highly productive labour and intensifying its creative character.

Much will be done to improve the working and living conditions of women workers. Beginning from 1981 it is planned to introduce a partly-paid leave of absence for the care of a newborn baby until the age of one year for women employed in social production in different areas of the country. Later this leave will be prolonged to 18 months. In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period a total of over 9000 million roubles is to be allocated for implementing measures to increase government aid to families with children. Childcare centres with accommodation for at least 2.5 million children are to be built. The body of pupils at schools and in full-day groups will be increased to 13.5–14 million in 1985.

The level and quality of medical services of the public are to be enhanced, the network of health-care institutions is to be widened, and work will be carried on to improve their structure and distribution.

The social security system will be further developed. Minimum rates of old-age and disability pensions for factory and office workers and for collective farmers, loss of breadwinner pensions, as well as some pensions instituted earlier will be raised. Over the five-year period the state will earmark additionally almost 6000 million roubles for improvement of social security. Forms of material incentives to stimulate able-bodied pensioners to work are to be perfected.

Work will be continued to improve the living conditions of veterans of the Great Patriotic War. The working man in Soviet society who constantly feels solicitude for his well-being on the part of the Party and government need not worry about his future.

The cultural life of people will become still more harmonious, while education and culture will be raised to a still higher level. Between 1981 and 1985 vocational schools will graduate 10 to 13 million skilled workers, and roughly 10 million graduates will be awarded diplomas of higher and secondary specialised institutions of learning.

The Party had to cope with formidable tasks and problems of tremendous complexity from the early days of Soviet government. Its will and determination inspired the people in the years of the early five-year plans, in the war against Nazi Germany, at the time of economic recovery after victory, in the situation of the Cold War started against us after the most sanguinary of all wars, the brunt of which had been borne by the Soviet Union. I shall give only one example. As a result of the enormous war ravages the country lost about 30 per cent of its national wealth. In the first post-war Five-Year Plan period however, the pre-war level of national wealth was surpassed. This was a great achievement of the Soviet people led by the Communist Party.

The CPSU has invariably measured up to the tasks posed in the field of home and foreign policy by every stage of historical development. In the eighties we are entering a new stage of building up the material and technological basis for communism, of developing social relations, of cultivating communist consciousness in members of society. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan is a responsible stage in implementing the programme mapped out.

Continued growth of the Soviet people's well-being will be maintained on the basis of stable and progressive development of the national economy. Economics of the new Five-Year Plan is one of tremendous scope. In 1985 the output of electricity is to be raised to 1,550,000–1,600,000 million kilowatt hours, of crude oil (including gas condensate) to 620–645 million tons, of gas to 600,000–640,000 million cubic metres, of coal to 770–800 million tons, A total of 117–120 million tons of finished rolled stock of ferrous metals, 150–155 million

tons of mineral fertiliser (in conventional units) are to be produced. A scientific analysis of the current state and realistic prospects of the socialist economy has enabled the Party to formulate in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the task of securing a more radical switchover of the entire national economy to solving the problems of raising the well-being of the people.

A POLICY OF INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT

The realistic nature of our plans is based on the general economic growth, the steady build-up of this country's production potential. In the eighties we are to complete regearing the economy to intensive development. For this purpose quite a few scientific, technological, production, organisational and management problems are to be solved in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period. This refers, above all, to making better, more effective use of the production potential created by many generations of Soviet people.

National income used for consumption and accumulation is to grow 18 to 20 per cent in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period. At least 85 to 90 per cent of this increment is to be obtained by raising the productivity of labour.

In this connection particularly great importance is attached to stepping up the rates of scientific and technological progress. It is contemplated to pursue a policy of more vigorous technological modernisation of production, introduction of advanced technology, developing, manufacturing and applying practically on a broad scale fundamentally new materials and technologies saving live labour, easing working conditions, sharply reducing material consumption and power inputs into products, and securing the processing of raw materials comprehensively at minimal costs and with minimal wastes. Emphasis is to be placed on integrated mechanisation and automation of productive processes, scientific organisation of work, raising returns on investments in all sectors of the national economy, advancing the efficiency of work and improving the quality of all lines of products, widening and renewing the range of articles in keeping

with present requirements of the economy, scientific and technological progress and growing consumer demand.

Investments are to be made primarily in modernising operating enterprises and completing projects started earlier.

Efforts and resources are to be concentrated on staged implementation of major target-oriented comprehensive programmes, above all those for boosting food production and consumer goods manufacture.

Today collective and state farms receive an average of 40 tractors and 30 lorries every hour. Every hour more than 9000 tons of mineral fertiliser is brought to the crop fields. Every hour about 80 hectares of irrigated land and over 70 hectares of reclaimed land is brought under the plough at the cost of government investments and funds provided by collective farms. To manage this wealth efficiently, frugally, and economically is what is necessary for efforts being made in the agrarian field to yield the maximum effect.

Agricultural production (in annual average terms) is to grow 12 to 14 per cent. To secure success in implementing the programme of boosting food production it is planned to have uniform planning, proportional and balanced growth, neat interaction between all sectors of the agroindustrial complex—agriculture, related industries, procuring operations, storage, transportation and processing of farm produce, the food industry and trade in foodstuffs. The task of advancing the industrial sectors of group B will be fulfilled on the basis of a long-term programme integrating the efforts of all industries which have a bearing on the situation in this field.

In heavy industry, prime attention is to be paid to key sectors—the power, iron-and-steel, general engineering, and chemical industries—as well as to capital construction and transport.

The Soviet Union is the world's only large highly industrialised country which is fully self-sufficient in fuel and raw materials. The Soviet power industry is developing at a fast rate. In 1980 the average daily output of electric power was greater than in 1975 by 690 million kilowatt hours, of crude, including gas condensate, by over 300,000 tons, of gas, by almost 400 million cubic metres. The demand for raw materials, fuel, and energy, however, is rapidly growing. Geological exploration of the country's territory will be intensified in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period to meet this demand.

In search of resources we have to penetrate ever more deeply into the earth's interior, develop areas of the Far North clad in permafrost and areas of Siberia difficult of access. Nevertheless, we are solving this problem. Involvement in the economic turnover of fuel, energy, mineral, and other resources of the eastern and northern areas, development of the atomic power industry, curtailment of the share of oil consumed by power stations, rapid growth of natural-gas production, application of new types of energy along with traditional sources—these measures will secure more stable supplies of raw materials, fuel and energy to the national economy in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period and beyond.

The most effective way of augmenting national wealth and increasing the rate of socialist accumulation is to make rational use of existing productive capacities and to save all kinds of resources. Special attention will be paid to improving the structure and timely renewal of basic assets, quick replacement of obsolescent technology, reduction of periods of commissioning design capacities at new enterprises. To secure economy of material resources it is contemplated to use on a broad scale comprehensive processing of raw materials, to apply resource-saving technology, low-waste and waste-free processes. Austerity measures are to be tightened in all spheres of production. Rationing of productive resources will be improved and regular measures will be taken to revise outdated and introduce advanced quotas corresponding to the present standards of technology, processes, organisation of production and work.

The Soviet economy is developing as an integrated national economic complex, while the economic potential of each constituent republic grows year after year. This approach is feasible only under a socialist system using the advantages offered by planned management of the economy. Enormous reserves are tapped in this way. It becomes possible to secure uniformity in fulfilling current and long-term tasks, to take fuller account of the entire variety of economic, social, scientific, technological, demographic and ecological factors, to use more effectively material, labour and financial resources, to improve the distribution of productive forces.

The economic mechanism and organisation of management of the national economy should fully conform to the growing scope of the

Soviet economy. These questions are highlighted in the Guidelines. They envisage an integrated system of measures, which covers the basic aspects of management of the national economy.

A system of interlocked long-term and short-term plans is being introduced. It includes a comprehensive programme of scientific and technological development for the coming twenty years; guidelines for economic and social development for a period of ten years; a five-year plan for economic and social development—the main instrument for implementing the Party's economic policy and an annual plan. This will secure continuity in planning, timely compilation and implementation of large-scale national economic programmes.

One of the pressing problems of planning is to maintain the right balance between centralism and the democratic principle. The principle of reasonable correlation of rights and duties between different levels of economic management will be consistently implemented to enable every leading executive, while exercising the necessary authority and bearing within its limits full responsibility for unconditional fulfilment of plan assignments, for strict observance of state and plan discipline, to attend to his duties, to solve current problems promptly without procrastination and excessive co-ordination.

The realistic character of the programme contemplated, which is pervaded with the spirit of innovation and creative quest, is reinforced with the rich experience of centralised planning accumulated in the Soviet Union, the experience of organisation gained by the country's best enterprises.

The results of the deliberations of the 26th Party Congress, the report of the Central Committee approved as a guide for action, the Guidelines for the country's economic and social development suggest at least three main conclusions. The first and main conclusion is as follows: concern for the well-being of the people remains the first priority task and essence of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. The second conclusion: the high targets set in our plans are inseparably linked with the Soviet Union's policy of peace and security, its policy of lessening international tension. Finally, the third conclusion, quite essential for our foreign business partners: these plans open up broad opportunities for long-term, stable, mutually beneficial co-operation with this country.

The Soviet people live in an atmosphere of peaceful construction. The fraternal alliance with the countries of the socialist community, loyalty to the Lenninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems, the struggle for lasting peace and social progress have always been and will remain the central objective of Soviet policy.

Friendship of Socialist Nations grows Stronger

Interview with *Stroitel'naya Gazeta*
(*Construction Gazette*), 14th June 1963

Question. Could you describe co-operation in the field of metallurgy and its significance for the economies of the fraternal socialist countries?

Answer. In fact, statistics available speak for themselves. The growth of exchange operations more than two-fold was secured, naturally, by the intensive growth of the iron-and-steel industry. It continues to develop further. The Nova Guta complex named after Lenin in Poland built with Soviet assistance has won world-wide renown. This giant plant is steadily building up its capacities. Also in Poland the Guta-Warszawa plant is being modernised and enlarged.

The Lenin steel iron plant built to Soviet designs and with the aid of Soviet specialists in Bulgaria has been yielding produce for some time. Construction is underway of another large project in Bulgaria—the Kremikov complex, a plant with a full metallurgical cycle, as well as an ore dressing factory.

Large-scale work on iron-and-steel projects is going on in each country of the European socialist community and the strength of this co-operation is to be felt everywhere. A project of enlarging the Ost plant is being worked out in the German Democratic Republic. The Dunai-Vasmu plant being built in Hungary is nearing commissioning. Construction is beginning on a large complex at Kosice, Czechoslovakia. In Romania, a number of enterprises have been modernised, and a large iron-and-steel complex is being built at Galica. Iron-and-steel plants and construction projects in the Soviet Union are too many to be listed here. It is known that in the not too distant future

the Soviet Union will move to first place in the world for steel manufacturing.

Naturally, this country plays the leading role in the development of the iron-and-steel industry of the socialist community. Incidentally, this is envisaged in the statute of Comecon's Standing Commission for the Iron-and-Steel Industry which has its headquarters in Moscow. The Soviet section is the main one in this commission and is responsible for co-ordinating its activities.

Question. You have described projects built or under construction in individual countries. Is it planned to build plants or establish associations on the basis of mutual and proportionate investments?

Answer. As is known, the Comecon member countries have already taken the first steps in this direction in the field of power production and pipeline transportation. Trans-European international high-voltage lines known as 'Mir' and the 'Friendship' oil pipeline of five countries are already in service. Metallurgists of the countries of the Socialist community will possibly follow suit. Plans are already being discussed for joint investments in various sectors of the iron-and-steel industry. The problems of joint extraction of raw materials and, consequently, construction of mines are of unquestionable interest in this context.

The problem of joint investments is a very serious one and, naturally, requires a profound and comprehensive study, a thorough economic analysis and substantiation. This, however, takes time. Already now an important direction in the activities of our Standing Commission is improvement of coordination of plans for long-term development of the iron-and-steel industry in the countries concerned. This refers to plans of main capital investments in developing individual sectors of the iron-and-steel industry, as well as to co-ordination of research and development work with a view to accelerating scientific and technological progress.

Incidentally, last year such work was pursued on sixteen subjects of common interest. These were, in particular, studies on oxygen converter production of steel, continuous steel casting, iron and manganese ore enrichment, automation of productive processes and other themes.

Recommendations worked out and currently being implemented for specialising production of refractories within the Comecon framework are of great interest.

The fascinating engineering, design, scientific and economic problem of developing the project of a steel works of the future is on the order of the day. The cream of scientists and engineers of all countries concerned will take part in compiling this project.

Question. What will be the international socialist division of labour in the field of the iron-and-steel industry in practical terms?

Answer. This will primarily be specialisation of individual lines of production and industries as a whole. Here is one example to illustrate my point. A few countries are planning to build cold-rolled sheet manufacturing departments and plants. The task is for each of them to produce sheet of specified quality and of a specified assortment without duplicating each other's production in so far as possible. In each field of production its volume should be large enough to meet the demand of the producing countries themselves and, within the necessary limits, the demand of other Comecon countries.

For instance, three Comecon countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the GDR—are planning to build small transformer steel plants. Would it not be preferable to build one large basic enterprise instead of three relatively small departments?

Question. Could you comment on the results of the joint projects of the Comecon member countries in the field of iron and steel production?

Answer. The results are favourable in all fields of metal manufacturing. Let us say, in the field of rolled stock production. As is known, different standards of rolled stock applied in different countries involved great inconvenience. Now a classification and a common unified nomenclature of rolled stock, for rail tracks in particular, have been adopted and introduced within the Comecon framework.

Moreover, Soviet know-how in rolling beam, channel, and angle steel of a lightened type saving 8 to 20 per cent of the metal, has been handed over to the socialist countries.

Finally, one should mention such important technical reforms as drawing up and applying recommendations for developing, improv-

ing and widening oxygen converter production of steel and electric steel smelting.

Capacities of the iron-and-steel industry—the steel muscles of the socialist countries—are built up day after day. Their combined efforts and resources are producing, speaking figuratively, the super-strong alloy of eternal friendship among the socialist countries.

Statement at the Opening Ceremony of the Intergormash-67 International

**Exhibition of Mining Equipment, 8th July
1967**

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear comrades,

We are opening today the Intergormash-67 International Exhibition of Mining Equipment which illustrates the achievements of modern science and technology in the field of mechanisation and automation of processes at mining industry enterprises.

Besides engineering organisations of the Soviet Union more than 200 firms and organisations from nineteen countries are among the exhibitors. The largest number of exhibits of mining machinery have been supplied by Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the United States, France, Federal Germany, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Japan and some other countries.

This exhibition is opening at a remarkable time when the Soviet people and all progressive mankind are preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the golden jubilee of the Soviet State.

During Soviet years this country has turned into a state with a highly developed economy and culture. Today the Soviet Union is producing roughly 70 times what the industry of Imperial Russia produced before the Revolution and is the world's second biggest

industrial power. We have a powerful mining industry. This country leads the world in output of coal, iron ore and a number of other kinds of industrial produce.

This country's economic co-operation and trade relations with the socialist countries have been steadily widening and consolidating throughout the post-war period. These relations have invariably been based on the principle of fraternal mutual assistance and using effectively the advantages of the international division of labour to develop the economy and advance the well-being of the peoples of the socialist community of nations.

Our economic ties and trade with a number of other countries such as France, Finland, Austria, Great Britain and Japan are developing successfully on a basis of mutual benefit. The Soviet Union's economic co-operation and trade with the developing countries are steadily widening.

Suffice it to say that the total turnover of Soviet foreign trade has grown ten-fold during the post-war years. Such high rates of growth of foreign trade are based on this country's successful economic development.

The Soviet Government gives close attention to extending economic, scientific, technical and cultural exchanges with foreign nations. We regard this co-operation as an important instrument for strengthening relations among all nations for the benefit of peace and universal progress. One of the effective factors in widening these exchanges is international meetings of scientists and specialists, as well as international exhibitions in major sectors of the economy and culture held in this country.

Guided by the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries having different social systems the Soviet Government is determined to continue widening trade and business ties with all states willing to develop them on a basis of mutual advantage without any discrimination whatsoever.

The International Exhibition of Mining Equipment opening today also pursues this objective.

Mankind is developing the wealth of the earth's interior on an ever broader scale. As the technology and processes of mining minerals are advanced and become more sophisticated it is confronted by new

technical problems. The fifth International Mining Congress which will go into session in Moscow in two days will sum up world experience in the mining industry and discuss ways of solving new problems posed by technological progress.

The International Exhibition of Mining Equipment is part of the programme of work of this congress. As regards the number and variety of mining machines and equipment exhibited here it is the biggest display of mechanisation and automation facilities of the mining industry.

The exhibition presents more than 2000 samples of equipment used for mechanising and automating extraction and processing of minerals, mining operations and sinking shafts, as well as equipment for securing miners' safety.

Great work has been carried out in the Soviet Union in technical modernisation of mines and quarries, comprehensive mechanisation and automation of productive processes. Production of various kinds of equipment for mining industry enterprises has been organised on a wide scale in this country. The high quality of Soviet mining machinery is a matter of common knowledge. Many types of mining machines made in the USSR have been awarded diplomas of honour and medals at international exhibitions and fairs.

All this has made it possible to attain great scope of production in the mining industry, to secure safety of mining operations and to facilitate miners' work considerably.

At the same time, we are interested in applying on a broad scale the achievements of modern foreign science and technology to secure high development rates of the mining industry, to raise labour productivity still higher and ease the work of the miners.

We believe at the same time that the experience and achievements of Soviet mining engineering will be useful to other countries as well. The present exhibition is of great interest to many countries in this respect.

We are confident that the International Exhibition of Mining Equipment will make for continued technological progress, broader exchanges of experience between Soviet and foreign specialists, further expansion of economic and cultural ties between the Soviet Union and other countries. I wish to express on behalf of the Soviet

Government my profound gratitude to foreign organisations and firms taking an active part in this exhibition.

I also wish to express my appreciation of the great work carried out by Soviet Ministries and enterprises to prepare and organise this exhibition.

I wish you, our dear guests, and all exhibitors great success and fruitful work.

On behalf of the Soviet Government I declare the Intergormash-67 International Exhibition open.

Thank you.

Fruitful Co-operation

Article in a special issue of
Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta (Economic Gazette)
devoted to the Leipzig Fair, March 1969

IN a few months from now the working people of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the GDR, the first socialist state on German soil.

The Soviet people are sincerely gladdened by its spectacular progress. During the historically brief period of its formation and development the Republic's working people led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany have increased industrial production almost six-fold, nearly doubled agricultural output and more than quadrupled national income. A highly developed complex economy with extremely efficient modern industries has been built up in the Republic.

"These economic achievements of the GDR are, in our view, of fundamental significance," Leonid Brezhnev declared in his speech at the 7th Congress of the SUPG.¹

The fundamental significance of the economic achievements of the GDR is, indeed, indisputable.

A country with a war-ravaged economy, no normal relations with capitalist states, no raw material resources of any significance, the GDR chose a socialist path, established close economic and political co-operation with the Soviet Union, and in a matter of two decades converted its manufacturing industry, agriculture, and other sectors of material production into thriving fields of the economy. These achievements have been made possible by the selfless work of the

¹L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1973, Vol. 1, p. 533.

Republic's workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, the leading and guiding role of the SUPG Central Committee and the activities of the GDR Government.

Since the early days of its formation the Republic's national economy has been making rapid progress assisted by its widening and deepening economic ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This has been the key factor in the entire process of development of productive forces in the GDR.

In this anniversary year, when a review is being made of the Republic's economic development during the last twenty years and guidelines are being drawn up for its continued advance along the socialist road, we are taking a retrospective look at the history of economic relations between our two countries.

These relations have passed through a series of stages. Each of them had its distinctive features.

The Second World War left in ruins in what is now GDR territory over 80 per cent of the steel-making capacities, about 70 per cent of the engineering capacities, more than 50 per cent of the transport facilities. The volume of industrial output in 1946 was not more than 42 per cent of that of 1936.

The enthusiastic constructive effort of the working people and the Soviet people's fraternal assistance secured the Republic's economic recovery from the ravages of the war and enabled important measures to be implemented to overcome the existing disproportions towards 1950, that is, by the time when the GDR was making its first steps as an independent state. Notwithstanding its own enormous loss of life and property in the war, the Soviet Union, allied as it was to its duty of internationalism, supplied the GDR with foodstuffs, raw materials and fuel, helped to offset the acute food shortage, bring surviving factories and plants back into service, and organise manufacturing of important lines of industrial goods. The Republic was granted large credits.

For its part, the GDR, as its economy steadily grew stronger, began supplying to the Soviet Union in growing quantities certain kinds of industrial equipment, semi-finished products and other goods, contributing to the rehabilitation and development of the Soviet national economy.

In later years the turnover of trade between the Soviet Union and the GDR further developed on a still broader basis than in the period of economic recovery when their possibilities for commodity exchanges were limited. The Soviet Union, in particular, delivered to the GDR large quantities of machinery, complete plant and equipment, which contributed to the growth of the latter's industrial potential.

Already at that time, Soviet orders for various kinds of machinery and equipment produced a substantial influence on the formation of the progressive structure of industrial production in the GDR in conformity with the objective prerequisites that were in evidence in the Republic. Some branches of the engineering industry, such as ship-building, manufacture of hoisting and haulage equipment and farm machinery, and a number of important chemical and petrochemical sectors of production were established, in effect, anew.

To contribute to the development of a progressive industrial structure in the GDR the Soviet Union undertook to meet its rapidly growing demand for basic types of fuel and raw materials. Between 1961 and 1965 their deliveries accounted for about 56 per cent of all Soviet exports to the GDR.

Foodstuffs and grain also made up an important share of Soviet exports to the GDR: about 15 per cent of the total during the aforesaid five-year period.

During the First Five-Year Plan of 1951 to 1955 and later in the course of fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan of 1959 to 1965 the GDR national economy was rapidly gaining momentum and secured steadily growing deliveries of equipment, machinery and products of the chemical industry, which facilitated the successful accomplishment of important national economic tasks in the Soviet Union. The turnover of trade between the Soviet Union and the GDR was constantly on the upgrade.

Having built up a modern engineering industry, the GDR became a major exporter of engineering goods, most of which were delivered to the Soviet Union. For instance, in 1966 the latter imported from the GDR a total of over 600 million roubles' worth of various equipment and machines.

The broad opportunities open to the Republic in the vast Soviet market and the enormous total quantities of machinery imported by

the Soviet Union from the GDR are not the only benefits of co-operation between them, although they are important factors contributing to the development and consolidation of the Republic's national economy. The GDR derived and is deriving large material benefits from exports to the Soviet Union because the latter has a planned economy and places orders for long periods, five years, as a rule, while the size of batches of machines and equipment requested is usually close to the optimum volume of their production. Nowhere else in the world does an exporting country deliver to an importing country such large consignments of equipment of the same type as the GDR supplies to the Soviet Union. This refers to ships, machine-tools, agricultural and various other machines.

All this helps the German Democratic Republic to manage its industry in a rational and highly efficient way, and steadily raise the standards of life of its people. Simultaneously, engineering goods imports from the GDR in such large volumes have contributed to the development of a number of industries in the Soviet Union, particularly building materials, food and consumer goods.

Scientific and technical co-operation has been widening and deepening along with the development of foreign economic relations. Its scope is illustrated by the following figures: over the period Soviet organisations have handed over to the German side almost 5500 sets of technical documents and samples of manufactured goods and played host to over 10,000 specialists who came to study Soviet scientific and technological achievements and advanced know-how. Soviet organisations have received from the GDR about 3500 sets of technical documents and samples of manufactured goods and commissioned roughly 7500 specialists to visit the GDR for the same purpose.

In the space of a short article it is difficult to describe in adequate detail the practical results of co-operation in the field of new technology. I shall dwell only on one question: the uses of atomic energy to meet the demand of the Republic's national economy.

In the majority of industrial countries of the world the atomic power industry has become an important factor in developing productive forces and building up new industries. Ever since it devised methods of peaceful uses of atomic energy the Soviet Union has been

sharing its know-how and experience in a spirit of brotherhood with the socialist countries. The first agreements it concluded with these countries, the GDR in particular, as far back as 1955, provided for Soviet assistance in setting up national research centres and training personnel for work in the field of atomic power development.

In 1965 the Soviet Union and the GDR concluded an agreement for developing the atomic power industry in the GDR with Soviet technical assistance. Under the agreement nuclear power stations with a total capacity of 2 million kW are to be built in the Republic towards 1980. Already by 1974 power-generating units of a new 800,000-kW atomic power plant will be put into operation. The Soviet Union is to supply the main equipment of the plant, including the turbine and the generator. Soviet specialists will direct assembly work, starting up and adjusting operations, and work to bring up the plant to its full design capacity.

Later the volume of Soviet technical assistance envisaged by this agreement to help the GDR build up its atomic power industry was much enlarged. The agreement is of crucial importance to the GDR, which is known to have limited fuel resources.

In addition to atomic power plants the Soviet Union is helping the GDR to build a number of other great power projects. Among them are the Tirbach and Bocksberg thermal power stations with a capacity of 800,000 and 3 million kW respectively. Upon the commissioning of these stations, as well as the first atomic power plant the power-generating potential of the GDR will increase more than 40 per cent.

The Soviet Union's economic, scientific, and technical co-operation with the GDR, just as with other socialist countries, is aimed primarily at all-round development of productive forces. This is evidenced, in particular, by the concentrated efforts to build besides power plants projects in other leading industries of the GDR, which are decisive to raising the efficiency of production. For instance, construction has been completed with Soviet technical assistance of a cold-rolled sheet department with a capacity of 500,000 tons a year at the OST iron-and-steel complex. The department will use hot-rolled steel supplied in rolls by the Soviet Union. This will partly offset the

Republic's demand for imports of badly needed sheet steel for the motor and electrical engineering industries from capitalist countries.

In all, sixteen industrial and other projects had been built and commissioned with Soviet assistance towards the end of 1968.

Geologists of the two countries have been collaborating successfully since 1960. A great achievement in their joint work was the discovery of natural-gas fields in the northern and central parts of the country, which had been considered hopeless as potential gas suppliers until 1949. A plan of geological exploration has been drawn up for the period up to 1970. It makes provision for surveys of new areas to be prospected by means of deep and superdeep drilling. Besides commissioning specialists to work in the GDR the Soviet Union supplies it with a wide range of geological equipment.

The forms and methods of scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries are being steadily perfected. Information exchange is being improved and exchanges of R&D results and licences on the principle of material compensation are being widened. In the last few years direct ties between Ministries, government departments, research institutions and individual enterprises have been widely developed. In 1969 such ties are maintained in the field of science and technology by thirty-eight Ministries and government departments in the Soviet Union and by eighteen of their counterparts in the GDR. This co-operation extends to such key industries in the two countries as general engineering, instrument-making, consumer goods manufacturing and food production, iron and steel and non-ferrous metal production, chemistry, petrochemistry, electronics, power engineering and radioengineering.

Last year agreement was reached on joint work in the field of manufacturing high-production equipment and introducing advanced technological processes in livestock farming and in industries specialising in processing and storage of farm produce. The two sides have also agreed to co-operate in developing production of chemicals and in their wider application to increase soil fertility and crop yields, to develop novel chemicals to be used in crop and livestock farming.

These are just a few of many examples of co-operation.

In the first decade after the formation of the Republic foreign commerce and scientific and technical co-operation were the only forms

of economic ties between the Soviet Union and the GDR. Later there arose the objective need for new forms of co-operation that more widely covered the production sphere. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), which will also celebrate its 20th anniversary this year, played an important part in their development. As is known, the GDR has been a member of Comecon since 1950.

In the present economic relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR great importance is attached to implementing proposals aimed at specialisation and co-operation in key sectors of industry, scientific and technical co-operation in new forms, exchange of know-how, mutual assistance in building industrial projects, joint development of natural resources. In this situation a new form of planning co-operation has come on the scene: co-ordination of national economic plans of the two states extending to all spheres of economic, scientific and technical ties.

This form of economic co-operation is becoming the principal instrument for a rational division of labour inside the socialist community of nations and for pooling the efforts of the Soviet Union and the GDR for solving vital problems of mutual interest. It brings the two countries closer together in the economic field, leads to interlocking of their economic interests and, in the final analysis, heightens the efficiency of economic performance. Sectoral Ministries of the two countries and some industrial enterprises and research institutions are being increasingly involved in this work. The recommendations they are drawing up now will be widely reflected in the national economic development plans for 1971-1975 and used in preparing various agreements on economic, scientific and technical co-operation, and contracts for reciprocal commodity deliveries. This provides ever more favourable conditions for concluding long-term agreements.

Work is now under way to lay the groundwork for further widening our co-operation, which is motivated by the needs of the two countries at the present stage of development of their productive forces. It is to embrace joint economic, scientific, and technical forecasting, specialisation or co-operation in developing and producing pilot specimens of products, manufacturing new lines of products on the basis of specialisation and co-operation, as well as reciprocal

deliveries, technical servicing of productive facilities in operation, and so on.

As shown by the experience of the last twenty years, economic co-operation between the two countries is beneficial to both, enabling them to solve their economic problems by joint efforts.

The Soviet section of the Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR, to which the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have entrusted the complex and noble task of widening and deepening economic, scientific, and technical ties with the GDR, will make every effort in close collaboration with their German colleagues to promote this co-operation for the benefit of our peoples.

Eternal and Inseparable Friendship

**Report at a ceremonial meeting of
representatives of Moscow's working
people dedicated to the 25th anniversary
of the German people's liberation from
Nazism, 5th May 1970**

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear comrades and friends,

It is a quarter-century since the great event that went down in history as Victory Day marking the defeat of the criminal Nazi Reich, the liberation of Europe and of the German people from Hitler's fascism. The peoples of the socialist countries, the working people of the whole world are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the rout of Nazi Germany together with us. All who are concerned for the destiny of the world feel profound gratitude to the Soviet people, their valiant armed forces, which have saved mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement.

The farther the memorable spring of 1945 recedes into the mists of history, the wider the scope of mankind's awareness of the significance of the rout of fascism, that most hideous offspring of imperialist reaction.

German imperialism unleashed the Second World War in pursuance of its insane idea of enslaving and exterminating other peoples and establishing its world supremacy. The Hitler clique took advantage in their strategic designs of the Munich policy of the Western powers, which recklessly instigated Nazi Germany to attack and destroy the world's first socialist state. The policy of appeasement and encouraging the aggressor, however, boomeranged against its master-

minds and brought war to their own homes. This confronted the Western powers with the need to join forces with the Soviet Union in the prosecution of the war.

Historically, the tide of hostilities took a turn that made this great country the chief obstacle in the way of Nazi Germany. The results of this confrontation were predictable: cemented by socialist ideas and led by the Communist Party, Soviet society defended the achievements of the socialist revolution and performed its internationalist duty to other peoples.

The victory over fascism saved civilisation and opened before nations a road to freedom, independence, and social progress, and contributed decisively to the success of people's democratic revolutions in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. The Soviet people had borne the brunt of the fighting against Nazi Germany. Again, like in October 1917, they performed a great exploit, which predetermined the development of human society for an epoch ahead.

Celebrating the 25th anniversary of the rout of Nazi Germany today, we again express our heartfelt gratitude to all those who secured that victory by their heroic efforts. We must remember the millions of Soviet people and the citizens of all countries of the Anti-Hitler Coalition who fell in that bitter struggle. We honour the memory of the German anti-fascists who laid down their lives for mankind's progressive ideals.

The rout of Nazi Germany enabled measures to be taken to rule out new wars in Europe and develop good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among European nations.

The decision taken at Potsdam by the Soviet Union and other powers of the Anti-Hitler Coalition to extirpate German militarism and Nazism and to secure conditions in which Germany would never again threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world had been dictated by the earlier record of European history. This accorded with the vital interests of all European nations, including the Germans themselves, the interests of universal peace. This is why the Soviet Union strongly insisted on strict abidance by the Potsdam Agreements, rendered all-round assistance to the anti-Nazi, democratic forces of the German people in implementing radical denazification and democratisation and destroying the economic foundation

of militarism to draw the line under the criminal past record of aggression.

This road and this work in clearing German soil of the debris left by the collapse of Hitler's Reich were not simple and easy. Suffice it to recall the scene of German life at that time presented in the appeal to the German people by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany of 11th June, 1945. It read in part: "Wherever one takes a look there are ruins, debris and ashes on all sides. Our cities are rased; large, formerly blooming areas of the country are devastated and deserted. The economy is disorganised and fully paralysed. The war unleashed by the Hitler regime has snuffed out millions of human lives."¹

The Communist Party of Germany appealed to all Germans to learn a lesson from the past once and for all and take advantage of that turning-point in history for purposes of democratic renovation and progress, for making their choice in favour of government of the people and peace, against imperialism and war.

In the eastern part of the country the Germans took this choice, and today they can declare with pride and dignity before the eyes of history: here the power of monopoly capital, nazism and militarism have been uprooted, radical democratic reforms have been carried out in all fields of socio-political, economic and cultural life, here a workers' and peasants' state—the German Democratic Republic—is prospering and growing stronger.

The formation of the GDR was the logical outcome of the long and selfless struggle of the German revolutionary proletariat which had been initiated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The GDR came into being in response to the policy of revival in West Germany of the power of monopolists and militarists, who regarded the rout of the Nazi Reich only as a temporary reverse in the fortunes of war, a setback in the eternal cycle of development of German imperialism. A fatherland of peace, democracy, and socialism, for which the finest sons and daughters of the German people had fought and laid down their lives has become a reality in the German Democratic Republic.

¹ *The Communist Party of Germany. 1945–1965. A Short History, Documents, a Chronicle of Events.* Moscow, 1968, p. 135.

Over the twenty odd years of its existence the working people of the GDR led by their time-tested vanguard—the Marxist–Leninist Socialist Unity Party of Germany—and relying on the assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have carried out an antifascist, democratic, and socialist revolution, laid the solid foundation of socialism and are successfully building a developed socialist society.

The German Democratic Republic today is a highly industrialised country with advanced agriculture. The economic progress of the GDR is strikingly illustrated by its place among the world's ten biggest industrial powers. During ten months in 1970 the GDR produced as much as the entire Third Reich had produced in a year before the war. The Republic's economic achievements graphically show what summits of progress can be reached by emancipated labour inspired by socialist ideas and guaranteed by the entire economic and military might of the socialist community of nations.

Today the people of the GDR are building a new life on socialist principles. Socialist relations in all spheres of life have become the key motive force of the new community of men united by the most progressive social system.

The unity of the people in the GDR is based on the strong alliance of the working class with the co-operative farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people in town and country. It is expressed in the close solidarity of all parties and mass organisations with the SUPG and in the National Front. No other state in German history so broadly relied on the people and so fully expressed their genuine interests.

As a socialist state, which is determined to do its utmost for war never again to begin from German soil and is consistently pursuing a policy of peace and friendship among nations, the GDR enjoys well-earned prestige and respect in the international arena. The GDR's international political, economic, cultural, and other ties are steadily growing in scope and strength, and the range of states maintaining diplomatic relations with it is widening.

We Soviet communists and all Soviet people are sincerely glad to know that relations of fraternal friendship and close, all-round co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR and between their

peoples are growing stronger and developing, becoming ever deeper, more diversified and fruitful.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, speaking at a ceremonial meeting in Berlin on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the GDR, declared that the Soviet people cherish their friendship with the German Democratic Republic.

Guided by Lenin's statement to the effect that socialism influences international revolution mainly by its economic policy, the Soviet Union and the GDR attach prime importance to combining their constructive efforts and national resources to advance vigorously the productivity of labour and the efficiency of social production so as to meet the working people's consumer demand to a maximum. The two countries are working intensively to promote specialisation and co-operation in production, co-ordination of current and long-term economic development plans, and joint solution of fundamental scientific and technological problems.

The Soviet Union gives the GDR broad technical assistance in building up its metal manufacturing and power-generating capacities, in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, in developing electronics, automation, computer technology, and in other sectors of decisive importance for scientific and industrial progress. The GDR's advanced know-how in chemistry, general engineering, optics, and precision mechanics, which our German friends willingly share with us, are in turn widely applied in the Soviet Union.

The turnover of trade between the Soviet Union and the GDR is steadily growing, and is to top the 3000 million roubles mark in 1970. This meets a large share of the two countries' demand for imports of raw materials, machines, and industrial plant. Economic, scientific, and technical co-operation between the two countries is steadily expanding and advancing to a qualitatively higher level.

The fraternal alliance and full unanimity of the Soviet Communist Party and the SPGU on all problems of socialist and communist construction, the development of the world communist and working-class movement, and world politics are a dependable guarantee of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and peoples, their cementing and driving force. We Soviet communists will always

strengthen and cherish this alliance as the living embodiment of the great Lenin's behests.

The two countries attach prime attention to the situation in Europe. This is only natural. Although in the European continent no armed conflicts have been in evidence for two and a half decades now the situation here is far from what may be called normal or stable. The tendency towards *détente* and co-operation is gaining ground in Europe despite the opposition of reactionary forces, who are seeking to revise the results of the Second World War and to undermine the foundations of the post-war order established in effective international law, including the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement. Imperialist reaction is going out of its way to activate the aggressive NATO bloc and to whip up the arms race into a new spiral. Deep concern in Europe and in the FRG itself is caused by the activities of the neo-Nazi revanchist forces, who are seeking to widen their positions in the government apparatus, the Bundeswehr, to increase their influence on the minds of the young generation of West Germans, to educate them in the spirit of revanche and national chauvinism. It would be unpardonable political myopia to overlook the danger lurking in the activities of these forces.

It is perfectly obvious that it is high time to begin finally a discussion of the cardinal problems of European security, a search for dependable ways of securing a peaceful, good-neighbourly life for all European nations. It is precisely this goal that is served by the proposals of the socialist countries for convening an all-European conference on security.

We are convinced that a lasting peace settlement in Europe can be achieved only on the basis of a territorial status quo, recognition of the existing European borders, including the border along the Oder-Neisse and the border between the GDR and the FRG. It must unquestionably imply respect for the sovereign rights of the GDR and other real factors of today's Europe. The Soviet Union fully supports the GDR's proposal for concluding a treaty between the GDR and the FRG on establishing normal, equal relations free from any discrimination whatsoever on the basis of the universally accepted principles and standards of international law. The GDR's proposal opens up realistic opportunities for achieving, on the only poss-

ible basis generally recognized in international practice, an easing of tension in Central Europe, of securing normal good-neighbourly relations between the GDR and the FRG as two equal sovereign states playing an important part in the life of the European continent.

The celebration of an anniversary of delivering European nations from the horrors of war unleashed by the Nazi regime means at the same time an appeal for greater solidarity of all peace forces. In a vain attempt to regain the historical initiative they have lost the imperialists are widening military adventures and do not stop at perpetrating new heinous crimes. As you know, a few days ago the US imperialists together with their puppets invaded the territory of neutral Cambodia, killing peaceful civilians, burning down their homes and whole villages. They have resumed on a wider scale their barbarian bombing raids over population centres of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. History will pronounce its strong judgements on the atrocities of those who are now hoping to carry into effect their inhuman doctrines by means of unbridled vandalism and bloody violence.

The Soviet Union and the GDR along with other socialist countries are fully determined to continue rendering all-round assistance and support to the heroic Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and independence. The two countries are invariably on the side of the Arab peoples in their struggle for eliminating the consequences of the imperialist aggression of Israel backed up by the monopolist circles of the United States, for a just settlement in the Middle East.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR, between our peoples and Parties, are based on the principles of proletarian solidarity and socialist internationalism, on their common goals and tasks in the struggle to build socialism and communism. Internationalism is inherent in the communist movement by nature. Applied to the nations of the socialist community it implies a broad programme of developing economic and political, defence, scientific, technical, cultural and other ties to secure continued development of the truly international community of socialist countries.

The common aims of the socialist nations open up truly unlimited opportunities for fruitful co-operation, makes it possible to bring into full play the potentials of the fraternal peoples inherent in the new

social system. The security of the socialist nations is dependably guaranteed by their combined defence capability—the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Constant consolidation of the community of fraternal socialist nations and the strengthening of their cohesion is the first duty of each of these countries, every communist internationalist.

In their practical activities the Soviet Union and the GDR are constantly aware of this duty and are doing their utmost for the influence exerted by the world socialist system on the entire course of social development to increase steadily.

It is deeply symbolic that according to tradition we are celebrating the anniversary of the German people's liberation from nazism also as a holiday of friendship between our countries and peoples.

The slogans of the SUPG Central Committee for the 25th anniversary of the German people's liberation from nazism read in part: Further all-round consolidation of this friendship is the basic guarantee of the GDR's continued prosperity as a socialist state and a dependable bulwark of peace and security in Europe.

Mass public organisations, such as the German-Soviet Friendship Society and the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR, are making a great contribution to strengthening our fraternal friendship. Today these societies have extended their activities to all parts of the two countries bringing the ideas of friendship and proletarian solidarity into the midst of the Soviet and German public. The noble work of the German-Soviet Friendship Society is well known and highly appreciated in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people are very grateful to the Soviet-German Friendship Society for its active participation in celebrating the Lenin birth centenary. The socialist emulation drive launched in the GDR to commemorate the Lenin jubilee is an expression of reverence for Lenin's memories and dedication to his doctrines.

I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to the leaders and numerous activists of the German-Soviet Friendship Society for their great and fruitful work for the benefit of our common cause.

Our German friends may rest assured that the Soviet people will do their utmost for our friendship always to be a symbol of triumph of the forces of peace and progress over the forces of imperialist

reaction, a guarantee of our successful advance along the path of building communism and socialism.

I wish progress and prosperity to the German Democratic Republic and its talented and hard-working people building a developed socialist society under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht.

May the inseparable friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR live forever!

Speech on the Occasion of Opening the Chemistry-70 International Exhibition, 9th September 1970

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear comrades and friends,

The International Exhibition Chemistry-70 is to open in Moscow tomorrow. As it has been already said here, at this exhibition about 1200 firms and organisations from twenty-four countries will demonstrate their exhibits along with Soviet enterprises and organisations. They will show visitors modern achievements of science and technology in the field of production and use of chemical products, as well as the most up-to-date equipment, apparatus and instruments for the chemical, oil refining, petrochemical and gas industries.

On behalf of the Soviet Government I extend my cordial greetings to all those who have come for the exhibition and are present here, Ministers and Vice-Ministers of the fraternal socialist countries, Presidents and Vice-Presidents of foreign firms, representatives of foreign and Soviet enterprises, research and development organisations, all exhibitors and guests.

We are glad to note that enterprises and organisations of the chemical industry and chemical engineering of almost all socialist countries are broadly represented among foreign exhibitors of Chemistry-70. We are also gratified to know that a majority of well-known large firms of the chemical industry from other countries of Europe, Asia and America are also taking part in the exhibition.

In our day chemicalisation is one of the major directions of the revolution in science and technology. Chemistry finds its way literally into all spheres of human activity, into daily life and into homes.

The successes of modern chemistry are opening up broad opportunities not only for increasing and reducing the costs of manufacturing well-known lines of chemical products which often compete against traditional materials of other industries but also for developing new materials and raw materials many of which are becoming indispensable in production, science, medicine and other fields.

Modern chemistry contributes to rapid growth of production of foodstuffs, clothing, and footwear and is a powerful means of gaining ever more complete mastery over the forces of nature and further advance of human society along the road of progress.

This is precisely the reason for the keen attention given in the Soviet Union and other countries to developing the chemical and related industries, as well as to rapid and broad application in the national economy of scientific and technological achievements of these industries.

The Soviet Government displays constant concern for developing the chemical industry. During the last five years alone the Soviet chemical and petrochemical industries have almost doubled their output.

Production of mineral fertilisers increasing the efficiency of agriculture has grown by a wide margin. Production of plastics, chemical fibres and microbiological products is also developing at a fast rate.

The high development rates of the chemical industry could not have been secured without a corresponding basis in engineering. Soviet chemical engineering has in recent time considerably widened the range of chemical equipment and enhanced its technical standards.

The Chemistry-70 International Exhibition will have on display the best achievements of modern science and engineering in the field of chemistry. This is the second exhibition of its kind in Moscow. Since 1965, when the first exhibition was held, the chemical industry has taken a new long step forward along the road of scientific and technological progress. Its development is characterised by high rates and sweeping qualitative changes in production technology, a widening of the range and assortment of articles, the output of new, improved and more economical types of materials.

We hope that acquaintance with the numerous displays at the exhibition will give visitors a deeper insight into modern achieve-

ments of chemistry and help exhibitors to exchange the most up-to-date achievements of science and technology in this field.

In our day vast and successful application in production of scientific and technological achievements is facilitated by the development of scientific, technical, and economic co-operation among nations. The Soviet Government constantly seeks to widen such co-operation, regarding it not only as one of the factors facilitating the solution of economic problems but also as an instrument for improving mutual understanding and strengthening relations among nations, for safeguarding and consolidating peace.

Soviet scientific, technical, and economic ties with the socialist countries are developing especially successfully, as is evidenced by the quick growth of reciprocal product deliveries, specialisation, and co-operation in production, as well as constant expansion and improvement of co-operation between our countries in all major fields of science and technology.

Over the last few years there has been an appreciable growth in the Soviet Union's scientific and technical co-operation and economic ties with such countries as France, Italy, Japan, Britain, Austria, the FRG, Finland and others.

The Soviet Union, which has a powerful modern industry, is in a position to render on a mutually beneficial basis the necessary assistance to other countries in solving various problems involved in scientific and technological progress and in developing their national economies, the chemical industry in particular.

At the same time, we intend to continue placing orders abroad, to purchase equipment, materials, and licences of interest to us, including those required by the Soviet chemical industry.

The Soviet people are engaged in peaceful constructive work. While completing successfully fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in the current year, we are already applying finishing touches to a new five-year plan for further developing industry and agriculture at a high rate, of continued advancement of the material well-being and culture of the Soviet peoples.

The chemical industry will also be developing apace in the new Five-Year Plan period.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are unswerv-

ingly pursuing a foreign policy of peace and are doing all in their power to improve mutual understanding, further to strengthen relations of trust and friendship among nations.

I am confident that the exhibition will also contribute effectively to the cause of continued widening of contacts and co-operation among nations and influence favourably the development of economic, scientific and technical ties between them.

On behalf of the Soviet Government I express my thanks to the foreign organisations and firms, as well as Soviet Ministries and enterprises for their active participation in the present exhibition and for their great and fruitful work in preparing it.

I wish great success to all exhibitors.

Thank you.

Ways of Mutual Understanding

An *Izvestia* interview 26th April 1972

Question. What was the main purpose of the visit by the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Canada?

Answer. The main aim of the delegation was to strengthen contacts with Canadian Members of Parliament, statesmen, and political leaders, as well as to see at first hand the life of the Canadian people. The visit of our delegation completed the second round of parliamentary exchanges between the Soviet Union and Canada. In January 1970 a delegation of the Canadian Senate had paid an official visit to the Soviet Union.

We had friendly and useful meetings with leaders of the Canadian Government and Parliament: Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell William Sharp, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce Jean-Luc Pepin, Speaker of the Senate Jean Paul Deschatelets, Speaker of the House of Commons Lucien Lamoureux, the prominent Senators John Joseph Connolly, John Black Aird, Donald Cameron, Harry Hays and George Clifford van Roggen.

At the end of the visit the two sides issued a joint Soviet-Canadian communiqué.

Question. Can we assume, therefore, that in the course of the visit the contacts established between the legislative assemblies of the Soviet Union and Canada were given an additional stimulus to development?

Answer. New opportunities are opening now for their continued improvement and expansion. We conveyed to the Canadian Parliament an invitation to send to the Soviet Union a delegation on an official visit at a time convenient to both sides. I am confident that in the Soviet Union the Canadian parliamentary delegation will be

accorded the same warm hospitality that we enjoyed during our visit to Canada.

We have also agreed with Canadian parliamentarians to study the possibility of setting up parliamentary sections which would contribute to developing parliamentary ties between the two countries.

In addition, agreement was reached on an exchange between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Canadian Parliament of reports on deliberations and materials of commissions and relevant literature.

We hope that reciprocal visits by parliamentarians of the two countries, under the auspices of parliamentary groups in particular, will become more frequent.

Question. In your talks with your Canadian colleagues, in particular the Prime Minister and members of his cabinet, you discussed a wide range of problems involved in bilateral Soviet-Canadian relations. How much willingness is there on both sides to develop them?

Answer. This was reflected in the joint Soviet-Canadian communiqué published at the end of the visit.

It is necessary to point out the general positive approach of the Soviet Union and Canada to continued development of political, trade, economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and other ties between the USSR and Canada on the basis of the series of agreements reached in 1971 and above all the great importance the two sides attach to practical implementation of the Soviet-Canadian protocol on consultations signed by the Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin and Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on 19th May 1971. We agreed with the Canadian side to facilitate an expansion of exchanges and co-operation in the fields of trade, culture, art, education, sports, tourism, air, and sea communication.

Question. As is known, Soviet economic executives and business circles in Canada have in recent time been showing a lively interest in developing bilateral trade and economic relations. What could you say about that?

Answer. In our meetings with Canadian statesmen and Members of Parliament we called their attention to the unbalanced character of Soviet-Canadian trade and to the possibility of measures to be taken by Canada to increase imports of Soviet commodities, to the need for

a quest of new ways and means of securing growth of Soviet exports to Canada. In our opinion, there are large untapped opportunities for a considerable growth in mutually advantageous trade between the Soviet Union and Canada. This could be facilitated by setting up joint Soviet-Canadian commissions for sales and servicing of Soviet equipment and machines in Canada, organising exhibitions of Soviet equipment, etc.

Meetings between representatives of Soviet foreign trade and production organisations and Canadian businessmen could help increase substantially reciprocal purchases of industrial equipment.

Good prospects exist, in our view, in the field of continued expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations, including implementation of large building and other projects both in the Soviet Union and Canada. There is a good deal of work in store in this field both for the joint Soviet-Canadian commission for scientific and technical co-operation and the advisory commission for trade. Already upon our return to Moscow a Soviet-Canadian trade agreement was extended by another four years and a consultative commission on trade was set up, which would meet at least once a year to discuss problems involved in developing trade between the Soviet Union and Canada.

Question. A number of present international problems are of interest to both the Soviet Union and Canada. Were these questions also discussed in the course of the meetings?

Answer. In our discussions with Canadian statesmen and Members of Parliament, we touched upon a number of international problems. We exchanged opinions on ways of maintaining European security, including the proposal for convening an all-European conference. Canada supports the idea of an all-European conference in general and has declared her willingness to take part. We also discussed problems of disarmament, including the problems of mutual troop and arms reduction in Europe and other international problems. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the identity of views and the positive role of the Soviet Union and Canada as the co-authors of the convention banning bacteriological weapons.

During the stay of our delegation in Ottawa the Senate committees and the House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament held a joint

meeting on foreign policy which was attended by the entire delegation of the Supreme Soviet. The friendly exchange of views on a number of international problems and bilateral Soviet-Canadian relations that followed was very useful. It contributed to a better understanding of the positions of the two countries.

The Federal Republic of Germany Today is One of Our Main Partners in Mutually Advantageous Business Co-operation with the West

An article published in the West German
magazine *East-West Commerce*, No. 5, 1978

THE heading of this article is a quotation from the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It sums up an important and eventful period in the economic relations between the two countries, in fact, a period of emergence and formation of our economic ties in their present form and scope.

In 1975 the turnover of Soviet-West German trade reached the level of 10,000 million deutschmarks of the FRG, which was an increase of over 25 per cent from the year before. If we take data for the five-year period of 1971 to 1975—and we are used to thinking in terms of five-year plans—we shall see that the turnover surpassed the level of 25,000 million deutschmarks, which was a 270 per cent growth over the five years before. This is a very large growth. As a result, the FRG has become one of the ten biggest trade partners of the Soviet Union, while the latter has entered the list of the ten biggest trade partners of the FRG. This spectacular growth of the turnover of West German trade with the USSR differed widely and favourably from the general trends of development of West German trade in 1975.

What are the main reasons for this stable growth of economic ties between the two countries and what are their qualitatively new distinctions?

A great contributing role has been played above all by the Moscow Treaty, which has radically improved the political climate of relations between the two states and by the top level agreements that followed this.

By now a complete system of economic agreements which make up the contractual and business foundation for developing economic ties between the two countries has taken shape as is functioning on the basis of, and in direct connection with the Moscow Treaty.

The sixth session of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation held on 30th and 31st March 1976 discussed progress in implementing the economic agreements between the two countries, as well as long-term prospects for mutual economic, industrial, and technical co-operation intended, just as the economic agreements, for a period of ten years. Another major distinction of economic relations between the two countries is their development on a long-term basis rather than as sporadic ties exposed to the effect of market fluctuations.

The Commission acknowledged that the economic agreements between the Soviet Union and the FRG were making successful progress on the whole and that the two sides were carrying out considerable work to develop and deepen further trade and economic ties not only in the context of current trade exchanges but also with an eye to progress to be made in later years. Large deals have been made and are being implemented in the fields of general engineering, iron and steel and non-ferrous metal manufacturing, chemicals, gas, crude oil and oil refining and a number of other industries. First examples of industrial co-operation in the field of general engineering are already in evidence.

The share of Soviet deliveries in total imports of the FRG in 1975 was 12 per cent for natural gas, 14 per cent for diesel fuel, up to 40 per cent for some ores, 31 per cent for vertical turning lathes. The FRG imported almost 9000 Soviet cars and almost twice as much machinery and equipment as in 1974.

On the other hand, the share of deliveries to the Soviet Union in total West German exports of the same year was 53 per cent for large-diameter tubes, 42 per cent for complete plant and equipment for the chemical industry, 43 per cent for pressure-casting machines,

13 per cent for complete plant and equipment for the iron-and-steel industry, etc.

Of late, large-scale co-operation projects on a compensation basis known as 'buy-back' deals have assumed special significance. The Soviet Union is interested in developing this form of co-operation allowing it to speed up development of certain kinds of natural resources in a number of areas of our country, to accelerate the development of some sectors of the national economy and to widen exports.

Leonid Brezhnev's idea of co-operation projects based on compensation is increasingly being carried into effect, in relations with the FRG in particular. They are being implemented perhaps on the biggest scope in the chemical industry where agreements have been reached on building in the Soviet Union seventeen various projects, whereas the total commodity turnover under these agreements in both directions will attain a level close to 10,000 million deutsche-marks of the FRG.

At the aforesaid session of the USSR-FRG Commission the sides agreed unanimously that reciprocal commodity turnover in the period 1976-1980 could be substantially increased. The basis for this is provided by the fact that already by the beginning of the five-year period the sides had placed or agreed in principle to place orders worth almost as much as the entire commodity turnover over the past five years. This is a qualitatively new aspect of trade and economic relations with a considerable share of reciprocal deliveries being fixed in advance.

Definite headway has also been made in scientific and technical co-operation between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany, mainly in the fields of radioengineering, instrument-making, machine-tool building, the chemical industry, physics, biology, etc. The high scientific and technological potential of the two countries holds out in this field good prospects for further expansion of ties and exchange of know-how with a view to mutual benefit.

Naturally, with the short period that has passed since the process of normalising relations began, in the economic field in particular, the differences in the economies of the two countries, and many other causes of difficulties we have quite a few problems on our hands. The

structure of the commodity turnover and the balance between exports and imports need improvement. Unfortunately, these difficulties are sometimes interpreted quite tendentiously in the Western press.

What is more important, however, is that both sides regard with an understanding both the existing difficulties and those which are likely to arise and are searching in a constructive spirit for ways of overcoming them. The mutual trust of partners in commercial deals and other forms of economic, scientific and technical ties is steadily growing. These exchanges are beneficial to both sides.

We see in this a guarantee of continued expansion and deepening of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Guidelines for Developing Economic Ties between the Soviet Union and the FRG

An APN interview published in the West German magazine *East-West Commerce*, No. 4, 1977, and other West German periodicals

Question. Could you comment on the results of the session of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation held in Bonn early in July 1977?

Answer. The session summed up the results of trade, economic, industrial, scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries over the past year, acknowledged good progress in these fields in general and discussed the prospects for further co-operation.

It is symbolic that the joint communiqué of the session was signed on 3rd June, exactly on the day of the fifth anniversary of the entry into force in 1972 of the Treaty between the two nations which provided the requisite political and legal foundation for the spectacular progress achieved in all fields, in the economic sphere first and foremost. The sides acknowledged that the economic agreements between the Soviet Union and the FRG were being fulfilled successfully on the whole. In 1976 trade exchanges increased by 9 per cent from 1975. The sides discussed in detail both individual fields and forms of economic, scientific and technical ties and a number of co-operation projects. Nor did they ignore the problems and difficulties involved in the development of these ties. It is essential, however, that these problems, too, were discussed in the spirit of mutual understanding and a constructive approach.

The two sides emphasised their optimistic assessment of the prospects for developing economic relations and their confidence that the coming visit to the FRG by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, would give a new impulse to this process.

Question. Could you describe the guidelines for continued development of economic ties between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany?

Answer. To be brief, I shall name three such guidelines.

First. This is continued consolidation and widening of the long-term basis for trade and economic relations. The total of orders placed for goods deliveries to either side, taking account of the long-term gas deal amounts to a few annual commodity turnovers. Forms of long-term relations are most varied, and ever new forms come on the scene and grow stronger. These are 'buy-back' deals and conventional sale and purchase contracts for a number of years ahead, agreements on co-operation in production, and agreements for scientific and technical co-operation concluded by Soviet organisations with firms of the FRG, as a rule, for a period of five years.

The basis for long-term and, primarily, of large-scale co-operation is the ten-year programme of developing economic, industrial and technical co-operation between the USSR and the FRG signed in 1974. The opportunities it holds out are far from being exhausted.

Co-operation projects on a compensation basis known as 'buy-back' deals feature prominently in the long-term co-operation programme. As is known, there was a debate in the FRG—and not only in the press—on this form of co-operation, which reflected a certain degree of misunderstanding and at times a distortion of the actual state of affairs, exaggeration of difficulties and 'dangers' that accompany it.

Discussion both at the session of the Commission and with representatives of the business community of the prospects for developing co-operation on a compensation basis, of its continued advancement in the interest and to the mutual advantage of both sides—all this, as it seems to us, helped to reach mutual understanding and to dispel doubts that were in evidence. This form of co-operation has already yielded its first positive results of no small importance and

has a future. It can be developed, in particular, by widening the sphere of its application, by extending it to the manufacturing industry and will facilitate a quest of new approaches to production co-operation.

Second. An expansion of Soviet exports to Federal Germany. For a few years now our imports from the FRG have been substantially greater than our exports there. This is causing some concern, so both sides, at meetings of the commission in particular, agreed that an increase in Soviet exports, an improvement in the structure of commodity exchange would benefit both the Soviet Union and the FRG. For example, the share of machinery and equipment bought by West German firms from the USSR is very small. Evidently these firms are still inadequately familiar with our potentialities, and Soviet foreign trade organisations, with the market of Federal Germany. It will be recalled that on the whole engineering goods account for roughly one-fifth of all Soviet exports today. It was not accidental, therefore, that problems of co-operation in the field of engineering were a key item on the agenda of the session.

Referring to Soviet exports to the FRG, it should be said—and this also came under discussion at the session—that their increase would be facilitated by lifting the abnormal restrictions on importation of Soviet goods which are still in effect in the FRG.

And finally, the third guideline. The session of the Commission pointed out that the successful development of economic ties between the Soviet Union and the FRG was an effective contribution to implementing the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The two sides emphasised their willingness to abide by all the provisions of the Final Act.

We can see the substantial opportunities the aforesaid document holds out for continued expansion and deepening of economic relations on both a bilateral and multilateral basis.

President Brezhnev's Visit to Federal Germany in the Context of Soviet-West German trade and Economic Relations

Excerpts from an APN interview published in the West German magazines *East-West Commerce*, No. 4, and *Panorama West-East*, No. 4, 1978

Question. President Brezhnev's visit to Federal Germany has been highly appreciated in the Soviet Union and the FRG and met with approval and support of broad segments of the world public. Could you describe the significance of this visit for the future of Soviet-West German economic relations?

Answer. President Brezhnev's visit took place in a complicated international situation. This lends a new dimension to its importance for the cause of peace, for reinforcing *détente*, for creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust in Europe and the rest of the world. I wish to call West German readers' attention to what President Brezhnev said about Soviet relations with the FRG in a speech in Minsk at the end of June 1978. "It's hard to find another country in Europe with so many obstacles, both objective and subjective, obstructing the path of normalising relations with it and making every step so difficult. Today, however, Soviet-West German relations—barring some negative aspects, to which we do not shut our eyes, of course—have become one of the factors of stability and *détente* in Europe."¹ The significance of President Brezhnev's visit for

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 7, p. 382.

the continued development of Soviet-West German trade and economic relations cannot be overestimated.

During the visit the sides summed up and assessed their efforts in the economic field over the period since the signing of the Moscow Treaty of 1970 and particularly since President Brezhnev's visit to Federal Germany in 1973 and the conclusion of economic agreements between the two countries in 1970 and 1974. This assessment and these results are well known from the joint documents published.

Progress in economic relations has been particularly manifest in the growth of foreign trade, which brings into focus the results of all forms of business co-operation. Federal Germany is the Soviet Union's seventh biggest trade partner and has been first among its Western partners for the last six years. For its part the Soviet Union has been among the FRG's ten biggest trade partners for the last four years.

According to statistics for the early months of 1978 the turnover of Soviet-West German trade has shown another growth mainly due to an increase in Soviet exports to the FRG and a certain improvement in their structure.

The two sides drew the conclusion, which they put on record, that the turnover of Soviet-West German trade between 1976 and 1980 could be doubled from the five years before and they expressed their determination to surpass this level in so far as practicable. There are great potentialities for maintaining steady growth of our economic ties for our mutual benefit. They must be used to the best advantage, removing in good time the obstacles and difficulties still existing in this field. I have in mind import restrictions on Soviet commodities in the FRG and other forms of discrimination.

Summing up, I wish to emphasise that in the Soviet Union great importance is attached to the results of President Brezhnev's visit in the economic field. The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers in a special resolution have instructed the Soviet organisations concerned to do all in their power to carry this mutually beneficial agreement into effect, to fulfil their obligations accurately, in good time and in a spirit of initiative, pressing for a substantial increment in commodity turnover and for implementing large-scale

joint projects. As the resolution points out, 'favourable results in this field can of course be achieved if the West German side reciprocates'.

Question. The joint communiqué issued at the end of the visit contains a favourable assessment of the activities of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Co-operation. What immediate tasks are facing the Commission, in particular, in the context of the new agreement in the economic and industrial field you have mentioned?

Answer. The agreement of 6th May 1978 intended for a period of twenty-five years is unique in its own field: its ideas and term of operation extend beyond the limit of this century.

This makes it a factor of tremendous significance, both economic and political. Implementation of the ideas recorded in the agreement, however, should be started already now, because this has a crucial bearing on general success in fulfilling the agreement in the immediate and more distant future. In my view, this could be facilitated by measures to be taken by both sides to fulfil the formalities required in either state to get the agreement into force at an early date.¹

The agreement has been made with a view to both today's and future economic ties between the two countries. One look at it is enough to see its clearly formulated goal: to facilitate economic, industrial, and technical co-operation as an important factor in strengthening bilateral relations on a stable and long-term basis, to strive for further intensification of co-operation on the principle of mutual advantage.

From this general goal ensue very specific tasks facing the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Co-operation in developing co-operation in key industries, such as general engineering, electrical engineering and electronics, metallurgy and chemistry, extraction and processing of minerals, and the power industry, as well as in the field of banking, insurance, transport, etc.

I wish to emphasise specifically that the agreement imposes on the commission great responsibility for its implementation. It must facilitate and supervise practical work in this field. A further difficult task is working out a long-term programme of guidelines for co-operation,

¹ The agreement came into force in December 1978.

which is to be prepared with the competent and interested economic bodies in both countries taking part.

Compiling such a programme will evidently take some time and pass through a number of preparatory stages. It is planned as a first such step at the next session of the Commission in Moscow to discuss the conception of a long-term co-operation programme and to fix the possible deadline for preparing it.

It can be stated on the whole that the Commission has been given a new stimulus to its work and will apply the necessary efforts to contribute effectively to organising a process of broad economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany contemplated for such a long period now.

Question. Will this broad economic process involve medium-sized and small firms of the FRG, which are fairly numerous in West Germany and unwilling to keep out of developments?

Answer. Medium-sized and small business in the FRG is increasingly involved in developing economic co-operation between the two countries. At present some 1400 medium-sized and small firms of the Federal Republic are maintaining economic ties with scores of Soviet foreign trade and other organisations. As is known, a special bureau under the FRG Embassy in Moscow represents the interests of medium-sized and small business.

Needless to say, this area of work is not without its difficulties. Even big firms are unable to cope with some large-scale projects single-handed. In addition, larger firms find ways of combining efforts more easily and sometimes simply oust medium-sized and small business from the area of foreign economic relations.

I am firmly convinced, however, that for all these difficulties it is precisely the process of further deepening and widening economic exchanges that will create new opportunities for such firms, many of which manufacture products of high quality, are in possession of up-to-date technology and can do business either on their own or as participants in large projects.

I wish to say in conclusion that the experience gained and the potential of economic ties are a guarantee of continued development of Soviet-West German economic, scientific and technical co-operation.

For Steady Growth of Soviet-West German Economic Relations

Speech at a meeting with representatives of the FRG business community, 5th May 1978

Esteemed Herr Federal Minister,
Esteemed Herr Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

We wish to express our thanks to the sponsors of this meeting which I'm attending together with Herr Patolichev and other Soviet representatives on instructions from President Brezhnev. He also requested us to convey his greetings to this audience.

President Brezhnev's current visit has aroused a lively interest within the business community. Discussion of the problems of economic co-operation between the two countries is deemed of great importance in talks between President Brezhnev and leaders of the Federal Republic. This refers to further developing and deepening long-term economic relations. As is known, in a Forwards interview and in his two statements here in Bonn these days President Brezhnev spoke in a constructive spirit on these problems.

It is five years since President Brezhnev's last visit to the Federal Republic in May 1973, and one naturally wonders about what has been done over these years. In my opinion, one could be satisfied with progress in our economic relations over the period.

Trade exchanges have grown roughly 215 per cent in over the last five years. This is a fairly good result and a good omen. Our economic ties have become a notable factor in the economies of the two

countries, an important component of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic in general.

I am not going to quote many figures but a few would perhaps be necessary. For instance, under the contracts in force the Federal Republic is to supply to the USSR a total of over 12,000 million deutschmarks' worth of machinery and equipment in the period 1976–1980. Just compare this with deliveries of West German equipment to the USSR in 1970, which amounted to only 120 million deutschmarks. Those of you who link such indicators with the question of loading productive capacities and employment in West German industry are evidently right. Here is another figure. I enquired at our Ministry of Foreign Commerce about the total value of contracts for reciprocal commodity deliveries in 1978 and later years. The answer indicated a sum close to 40,000 million deutschmarks. At the same time, contracts for natural gas deliveries were concluded even for periods up to the year 2000. This is fairly good headway.

The aforesaid suggests the conclusion that our economic ties are developing to an ever greater extent as long-term and large-scale relations. Large 'buy-back' deals hold an essential place among them. A number of projects built in the Soviet Union on this basis are already in service.

The business circles of the Federal Republic have made an important contribution to developing co-operation between the two countries. Many of you may be called pioneers in this field. This refers by no means only to large concerns and firms. According to estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Commerce, more than 1400 firms of the Federal Republic are now involved in various ways in reciprocal commodity turnover. According to data available to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, over 130 companies are taking part in scientific and technical co-operation. This, of course, is far below the limit of our potentials but, nevertheless, fairly good progress.

We are aware of the interest of firms in fruitful co-operation and the technical facilities of your industry meeting modern standards, the good quality of products and excellent workmanship of your workers, engineers, technicians and managerial personnel.

Nobody will perhaps dare to say that economic ties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic are already on a level with their economic potentials. In fact, the opportunities available remain largely unused. Certain problems arise in the process of developing relations. It is important not to exaggerate them and not to play them down but assess them soberly, in a businesslike way. This refers, in particular, to the balance of trade between the two countries. The structure of reciprocal deliveries is in need of improvement. In particular, the share of manufactured articles, primarily industrial goods, in Soviet exports is extremely small so far. Another handicap is the quantitative and other restrictions still in force in the Federal Republic on imports of Soviet commodities and other anachronisms it is high time to get rid of. I must frankly admit that the prices claimed at times by some West German firms for individual lines of equipment is the cause of some concern to our organizations.

For all these problems and objective difficulties, however, we are convinced—and I want to make it perfectly clear—that all these difficulties can eventually be overcome, if the sides abide by the principles of equality and mutual advantage, reckon with the interests of their partner, and strengthen mutual trust. There is every reason for an optimistic assessment of the prospects for continued development of Soviet–West German trade, economic, industrial, scientific, and technical co-operation. So the two sides should evidently focus their attention on using these opportunities to the best advantage.

The resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and our five-year plans provide for a considerable expansion of the Soviet Union's involvement in the international division of labour. In compiling a new Five-Year Plan for the period 1981–1985 we could, with acceptable proposals being available, take account to a greater extent than heretofore of the needs and possibilities of the West German economy. In view of the continued growth of the share of foreign commerce in the national product of the Federal Republic, as well as the world market situation, the aforesaid would probably accord with the interests of a number of industries of Federal Germany, its economy as a whole. This would also meet our own interests.

The tasks in advancing economic relations between the Soviet and the Federal Republic to a higher level and lending them a more

effective character dictate, in our opinion, the need for measures to be taken now by governmental organisations and business circles of both countries to identify the most promising directions and new fields of co-operation. We list among such fields primarily the chemical, power, general engineering, iron and steel and non-ferrous metal manufacturing, pulp and paper and woodworking industries. Good prospects may be offered by co-operation in our next five-year plan period (1981-1985) in prospecting for and extraction of some natural resources, in particular oil and gas on the continental shelf.

It might also be worthwhile to follow up so far isolated examples of production co-operation by a joint search for ways of industrial co-operation on a broader scale including joint manufacturing of machines and equipment to be used in the USSR and the FRG or to be marketed in third countries. We can see substantial and still unused opportunities in this field as well.

The Soviet section of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Co-operation has been instructed to work actively in all these directions, so we expect that with your active participation the commission will cope on the whole with the task of identifying new specific co-operation projects and will contribute to their implementation.

Finally, I am obliged to mention the opportunities for general European economic and industrial co-operation in the context of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Our proposals for ways of organising such co-operation in the fields of power generation, transport, and environmental protection are well known. In short, we are in favour of steady development of our economic ties in all directions.

Speaking at a meeting with representatives of the business community of the Federal Republic in 1973, Leonid Brezhnev emphasised that organising long-term economic co-operation would result in greater mutual trust between states and enable more rational use to be made of national economic ties to mutual advantage. This has been borne out by the record of the past period. It would be of no less importance for the future of our relations.

I wish to express my confidence that President Brezhnev's current visit to your country, his talks with leaders of the Federal Republic,

the agreements reached will give a new impetus to the positive development of all-round relations, in the economic field in particular, and meet with a constructive response within the business circles of both countries.

The State of and Prospects for Developing Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany

Replies to the magazine *Soviet Union Today* published by the APN press agency in Federal Germany, No. 12, 1978

Question. What is your general assessment of the present stage in Soviet-West German economic relations?

Answer. President Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic in May 1978 ushered in a new stage in economic relations between the two countries.

The earlier stages had prepared it from the aspect of quality and quantity. As regards quantity, the annual reciprocal commodity turnover has surpassed 10,000 million deutschemarks. The Soviet Union has become one of the ten biggest trade partners of Federal Germany. Important qualitative changes have also taken place: trade relations have become stable, wide-scale and long-term agreements and contracts have become their distinctive characteristic, new forms of relations have appeared and are developing successfully, such as 'buy-back' deals assuming ever greater flexibility, production co-operation, co-operation in the services, etc.

Things are going fine in the current year 1978: data for seven months indicate a 13 per cent growth in commodity turnover between the two countries as against the same period of 1977. It is a short time since President Brezhnev's visit to the FRG but during

and after the visit, that is in only five months, new contracts only for equipment imports from the Federal Republic have surpassed 1000 million deutschemarks. There is another impressive figure: the contracts being negotiated by Soviet foreign trade associations for machinery and equipment imports are estimated roughly at 6000 million deutschemarks. In seven months of 1978 West German firms have bought roughly 20 per cent more Soviet commodities than over the same period of last year.

All this guarantees West German enterprises taking part in co-operation stable orders for a long period or, on the other hand, deliveries of important raw materials and other Soviet commodities. However, the existing level of trade exchanges is still far below the economic potentials of the two countries. The opportunities are truly great. We are in favour of using them more actively.

Economic relations at the present stage are plagued by a number of difficulties. I shall name for illustration only a few of them: there is need for improvement of the balance of exports and imports between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. The prices of some lines of equipment claimed by West German firms are not competitive, so I could cite a complete list of orders which for this reason were handed over to firms of other countries. The quantitative, tariff and other restrictions in West German trade with the Soviet Union have not yet been lifted, and we would like the relevant authorities of Federal Germany to take at last effective measures to remedy this situation. Certain concern is caused by the protectionist tendencies, which seem to be winning more and more supporters within the Common Market.

The problems of overcoming difficulties came up for discussion among others at the eighth session of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation held in Moscow in September 1978.

Question. Could you comment on the activities of the commission in the period between the two sessions?

Answer. First of all, the activities of the Commission should be judged by the state of economic relations. In my opinion, this is the main reason for the positive assessment on the work of the commission and its working bodies given in the communiqué on Presi-

dent Brezhnev's visit to the FRG. This imposes on the Commission what I would describe as special duties and as the eighth session of the Commission has demonstrated, both sides are aware of that. What is most important in the activities of the Commission is its efforts to facilitate in every way the implementation of economic agreements between the two countries, which are designed to build up steadily a variety of economic ties. This objective is also pursued by sessions of the Commission, by the activities of the Soviet and West German sections and its working organs in periods between sessions.

As far as the Soviet section of the Commission is concerned, it regularly heard at its sessions progress reports of Soviet Ministries and government departments on the course of implementing the resolutions of the preceding session of the Commission, on fulfilment of agreements, contracts, and understandings reached and took measures required to secure fulfilment of obligations to West German partners, identified and supported new directions and areas of co-operation. The Soviet section of the Commission regularly examines long-term co-operation projects, in the field of production in particular. Interested Soviet organisations are involved in this work.

Problems which arose in the period between sessions were discussed at its meetings by a joint working group, which is, just as the sectoral groups of experts, a working body of the Commission. It discussed a number of problems involved in co-operation, exchanged information on the development of individual industries in both countries. The working group prepared for the eighth session of the Commission a joint report, which reflected the development of economic ties between sessions and the work carried out by both sides. The session discussed and approved both the report as a whole and the proposals it contained. Over the period since the seventh session of the Commission sectoral expert groups, which number over ten, held meetings in accordance with co-ordinated plans. The expert groups on machine-tool construction, chemistry, minerals, thermal processes made definite progress on concrete subjects of co-operation of mutual interest. I wish to point out as a positive fact that meetings of experts held in the period between sessions gave birth to new expert groups on co-operation in the fields of construction and wood-

working equipment. The eighth session of the Commission took a decision to establish such groups. The new economic agreement of 6th May 1978 set new great tasks before the Commission. In this context the past session of the Commission also discussed problems involved in improving its activities, a search for new promising directions in its work and drew up relevant recommendations.

Question. What is your assessment of the development of production co-operation between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany?

Answer. The agreement for co-operation in the economic and industrial fields of 6th May 1978 attaches great importance to technical co-operation and production co-operation, in particular, to joint development and manufacturing of individual types of equipment and other articles.

Isolated examples of joint development and production co-operation are already in evidence in the fields of machine-tool construction, engineering for light industry, instrument-making, radioengineering and electronics, construction of concrete pumps, etc. During his stay in Leningrad in connection with the aforesaid session of the Commission the Federal Economics Minister O. Lambsdorf had an opportunity to examine a sample of a generator valve for high-powered radio stations developed by a Soviet plant in collaboration with the 'Siemens' firm.

There has been an appreciable increase of late in the scope of contacts pursuing the object of organising scientific, technical, and production co-operation. It seems that West German firms and Soviet organisations have both begun to display initiative in this field. As for my assessment, it should be acknowledged that not much ground has yet been covered in this area, but this is a promising form of co-operation, which can be very dynamic and important to both sides. The economic effect of such co-operation may be even more profound and diversified than traditional trade.

Production co-operation could involve not only large but also medium-sized and even small specialised enterprises, which are so far little informed of the possibilities and intentions of their potential partners. In this context we regard as useful the information submitted to the session of the Commission by the Ministry of Local

Industries of the Russian Federation concerning the possibilities of numerous medium-sized and small enterprises subordinated to this Ministry and its proposals for organising co-operation.

I am obliged to point out, however, that first examples in the field of production co-operation point to the complexity of this form, the difficulties involved in mutual adaptation and consideration of each other's interests—technical, economic, and organisational.

I hope that this new form of ties in the production sphere will strike firm root and develop. Particularly if this is facilitated by our commission and other interested organisations of both sides.

Question. What do you think of the prospects for developing Soviet–West German economic, scientific, and technical co-operation?

Answer. I wish to emphasise that in fact the main item on the agenda of the September 1978 session of the commission was precisely the question of prospects for co-operation.

The agreement on developing and deepening long-term co-operation between the two countries in the economic and industrial field signed in the course of top-level meetings and the understandings reached determined the fundamental line of developing Soviet–West German relations for a long period to come and outlined, in particular, ways of further deepening fruitful bilateral economic co-operation. This agreement has a very comprehensiving character, reinforces the legal basis for co-operation and is without precedent as regards its term of operation: it is intended for a period of twenty-five years.

Speakers at the eighth session of the commission forcefully emphasised that President Brezhnev's meetings with President Walter Scheel and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had given a new impetus to the process of widening co-operation between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany.

Work is under way in the Soviet Union to compile the next five-year plan for economic and social development and on plans for a longer period. Simultaneously, measures will be taken to specify the areas of possible large-scale co-operation and the scope of Soviet trade with foreign nations, the Federal Republic in particular. Some directions of possible co-operation are already being identified, and

our Ministries, primarily the Ministry of Foreign Commerce, are engaged in preliminary negotiations with a number of firms in Federal Germany.

As is known, the Soviet top echelons have taken a decision which makes it incumbent on all organisations concerned to do all in their power to carry into effect the agreement of 6th May 1978. The Soviet side is taking the necessary steps to secure steady growth of economic ties, to perfect their structure, and to stimulate development of their most advanced forms. Needless to say, success in this matter can be expected only if the West German side acts likewise.

A few words about scientific and technical co-operation. It was also discussed at the session, which acknowledged the steady development of co-operation in many fields of science and technology. Appreciable progress has been made in the field of co-ordination of scientific and technical exchanges with economic and production co-operation. Far more could have been done in this field, however, for the benefit of economic progress in the two countries and to their mutual advantage.

Summing up, I should say that we see quite substantial opportunities for developing economic ties with Federal Germany all along the line, and we consider it a promising field. We have an optimistic view of the prospects for the coming few years and more distant future. The implementation of what has been planned would indisputably contribute to continued strengthening of relations between the two countries as a whole, to the cause of peace and *détente* in Europe.

The Material Foundation of Co-operation

An interview published in the newspaper
Izvestia, 9th December 1978

Question. What significance does the Soviet Government attach to the entering into force the other day of the agreement on deepening and developing long-term co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany in the economic and industrial field.

Answer. As is well known, the development of economic co-operation between states largely depends on the general political climate prevailing in relations between them and on the availability of a corresponding contractual basis. This is confirmed by the experience of our economic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. The rapid and successful development which we have observed over the past seven to eight years is directly linked with the radical positive changes in political relations between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany following the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty of 12th August 1970. For their part, the stable economic ties taking shape have a favourable impact on political relations between the two countries.

The agreement on developing and deepening long-term co-operation between the Soviet Union and the FRG in the economic and industrial field, signed in the course of the historic visit by the General Secretary of the CPSU of the Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, to the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1978, evidences continued advancement of the quality and level of Soviet-West German relations and reflects the increased trust and mutual understanding between the two countries.

As Comrade Brezhnev emphasised, the agreement of 6th May, 1978 provides a solid material foundation for peaceful co-operation between the Soviet Union and the FRG. It conclusively demonstrates the possibilities inherent in the policy of peaceful coexistence, shows the great scope and rich prospects offered by co-operation between states belonging to different socio-political systems. So in this sense, the agreement, along with other understandings reached in Bonn, is a great contribution to the cause of *détente*, good-neighbourly relations and consolidation of peace.

It is necessary to note that the agreement outlines the goals, directions, and forms of our joint work in the economic field, which are based primarily on the long-term character of the projects being implemented, prepared, or contemplated. Not only does it set the immediate tasks but it also outlines for the first time the strategy of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and a capitalist country for a quarter century ahead.

Question. What influence in your opinion will fulfilment of the agreement produce on the further development of Soviet-West German trade and economic relations?

Answer. I wish to emphasise in the first place that this agreement is based on fairly good results of trade and economic exchanges. Suffice it to say that during the last three years trade exchanges have been steadily maintained at a level of 3000 million roubles a year. The Federal Republic has been the biggest trade partner of the Soviet Union among capitalist states for seven years now. Economic co-operation between the USSR and the FRG has become a notable factor in the economic life of both states.

The level attained in trade between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany, the solid contractual basis of bilateral trade and economic relations, as well as a 'reserve' for the future in the form of contracts and agreements already concluded or being finalised warrant an optimistic assessment of the prospects for continued development of Soviet-West German trade and economic relations.

It is important to note that economic ties between the two countries have extended beyond the limits of traditional forms of trade and advanced to a qualitatively new stage distinguished by ever greater development of new forms of co-operation.

We proceed from the premise that the agreement will have a favourable impact on the entire sphere of trade and economic relations and help to take better advantage of the available opportunities for their expansion. This refers, above all, to large-scale projects implemented on a compensation basis ('buy-back' deals), developing such a promising area of joint work as production co-operation, which permits broader involvement in reciprocal commodity turnover of new lines of manufactured goods and articles with a higher degree of processing, as well as co-operation on the markets of third countries. All this would enable more effective use to be made in the interest of economic progress of both states of the advantages offered by the international division of labour in production and marketing various commodities, including machines and equipment.

Question. Could you describe the plans of work to be carried out by the Soviet section of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Co-operation to implement the agreement which has just come into effect?

Answer. It will be recalled in this connection that the resolution of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers on the results of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG adopted in May 1978 enjoined the relevant Soviet organisations to do all in their power to carry the agreement into effect, to fulfil their obligations accurately, in good time and in a spirit of initiative, pressing for a substantial increment in commodity turnover and implementing large-scale joint projects. It should be said that over the period the authorised Soviet organisations have made definite headway in this direction. We expect the West German side to reciprocate.

As is known, the agreement makes it incumbent on the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Co-operation to carry out with the assistance of authorised and interested economic bodies in the two countries responsible tasks in assisting and supervising its practical implementation, as well as in compiling a long-term programme of guidelines for co-operation. I believe there is no need to discuss all areas of the Commission's multifarious activities. I shall dwell only on one important aspect.

In the course of the eighth session of the USSR-FRG Commission held in Moscow in September 1978, which, incidentally, was quite successful, as acknowledged by both sides, we exchanged, tentatively, our views on the conception of a long-term co-operation programme, as well as on the procedure and periods of compiling it. It was agreed that the ninth session of the commission, which is to meet in Bonn in the second half of 1979, would examine the progress made in drafting the programme, as well as other problems involved in implementing the agreement and extending it to concrete projects.

As Chairman of the Soviet section of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Co-operation I believe that under these conditions it is highly important to enhance the role played by the Commission, to improve its activities, to search for new promising directions in its work. This task precisely was set before the Commission during the last meeting of the leaders of the two countries.

In conclusion, I wish to express again my profound conviction that the agreement which has come into force will contribute to stable mutually beneficial growth of economic relations between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany, which accords with the interests of their peoples, serves to consolidate the material basis for the policy of *détente* in Europe and the rest of the world.

USSR-GDR: Thirty Years of Fruitful Co-operation

An article in *Neues Deutschland*, 3rd October 1979

THE German Democratic Republic is soon to celebrate its 30th anniversary. During this historically short period, the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil has made spectacular progress under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The Republic, which is confidently building a developed socialist society, enjoys well-deserved prestige in the socialist community, among all peace-loving nations of the world. It is actively involved in implementing the comprehensive programme of socialist economic integration of the member-countries of Comecon, in the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. The Republic is making an active contribution to the joint struggle of the socialist countries for developing and deepening the process of *détente*, for lasting peace and international security.

The Soviet people, who regard the 30th anniversary of the GDR as an historic event, are glad to know that this friendly country firmly holds a place among the world's ten biggest industrial powers. This has been made possible by the constructive labour of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia of the GDR, who are carrying into effect the SUPG's policy of continued implementation of the programme of building a developed socialist society, as well as—as has been repeatedly emphasised by leaders of the SUPG and the GDR—by its fraternal alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The years since the formation of the GDR have been not only a period of rapid economic growth, of consolidating the political positions of the first German socialist state in history, but also a period of widening and deepening fraternal relations with the Soviet Union

and other countries of the socialist community. These relations today extend to the most varied fields of politics, economics and culture, contributing to the fulfilment of the large-scale tasks ensuing from the resolutions of 25th Congress of the CPSU and the 9th Congress of the SUPG.

Economic, scientific and technical ties hold an important place in the wide range of common interests of the two nations. This co-operation, which is based on the principles of mutual advantage, has been developing along with the progress of the national economies of the two countries, continually increasing its scope and improving its forms. Sizing up its results today, we can see what high economic targets can be attained by two socialist states on the basis of comprehensive co-operation, mutual assistance, exchange of know-how, ideas, material and cultural values.

The first period of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR passed in the difficult years of economic recovery from the ravages of the war unleashed by Hitler's fascism. At that time Soviet deliveries contributed to resolving many problems arising in industry and agriculture, and in supplies of the population of the Republic. As a result of the later development of trade the commodity turnover, which was equal to a mere 220 million roubles in 1949, grew to 5600 million roubles in 1975 and is to top the 8000 million mark this year.

The structure of commodity turnover changes in accordance with change in the needs of the national economies of the Soviet Union and the GDR. The Soviet Union was and is today the biggest supplier of raw materials, fuel, and materials required for successful development of the national economy of the GDR. Deliveries of Soviet oil, natural gas, iron ore, timber and a number of other commodities largely meet the growing import demands of many key industries for basic raw materials. Deliveries of manufactured goods—machines, equipment, products of the chemical, electrical engineering, and electronics industries—grew at an even faster rate. In 1978 these lines of commodities accounted for about one-third of the total, the share of machinery and equipment amounting to 22 per cent.

The structure of commodities supplied by the GDR to the Soviet Union also changed. Deliveries of chemical equipment, metal-working machine-tools, forging and pressing equipment, electronic instru-

ments, chemical industry products make up a growing share of the commodity turnover.

As far back as the early fifties the GDR established a number of efficient specialised enterprises, many of which filled and are filling orders from the Soviet Union. These factories, some of which are unique for their large size and economic efficiency, manufacture passenger carriages and refrigerator cars, farm machinery, pressing machines and some other kinds of industrial plant, and, just as shipyards, are designed to handle large-series orders, most of which are unmatched for their size. What matters most here is the fact that the large size of these enterprises economically justifies and stimulates the application of the most up-to-date technological processes ensuring high profit performance. It is precisely the production of these goods manufactured from one five-year plan period to another in such large series, the like of which are often not to be found anywhere else in the world, that sharply increased the profitability for the GDR of its economic relations with the Soviet Union. The large specialised enterprises built in that period are the most powerful and efficient in their field, and have enabled the Republic not only to meet its domestic needs more fully but also to come on the international market.

Trade between the Soviet Union and the GDR has been developing successfully since the early days of the formation of the Republic. At the same time, the rapid economic progress of the GDR required new scientific studies, more advanced machine designs and technological processes. This dictated the objective need for continued development of other forms of foreign economic relations. Foreign trade was gradually supplemented with the entire gamut of foreign economic relations, including co-operation in the field of science and technology, organisation of industrial co-operation, joint construction of integration projects, as well as mutual assistance and technical aid in building new and modernising operating enterprises.

To lend greater scope to scientific and technical ties and to improve their planning, the Soviet Union and the GDR concluded their first intergovernmental agreement on scientific and technical co-operation as far back as September 1951. At that stage it concerned mainly exchange of scientific and technical information and production know-how. The agreement played a great positive role in the

formative years of the young republic. Scientists and specialists of the GDR were given broad access to the Soviet Union's scientific and technological achievements. Soviet scientists helped the GDR to set up new research centres, to train research personnel, and to widen research directions. Thousands of citizens of the Republic were trained at leading Soviet institutions of higher learning.

Over the period since the conclusion of the first agreement scientific and technical co-operation has been greatly developed and is now being conducted on approximately 1200 subjects of fundamental and applied research. Every year thousands of specialists of the two countries visit one another for purposes of joint research, exchanging scientific and technical information, attending scientific conferences and symposiums.

Joint research of past years is already yielding practical positive results in the national economy. Co-operation, for instance, in the field of geological prospecting in GDR territory has helped discover fairly large commercial reserves of natural gas, which is now being used in a number of industries of the Republic.

Creative co-operation of scientists and engineers of the two countries has made it possible to develop unique industrial installations which for their technical and economic characteristics are equal or superior to their best analogues in other countries of the world. I shall cite only one example. In the days of the celebration of its 30th anniversary the GDR put into operation two high-powered industrial installations for highly efficient production of high-pressure polyethylene, called 'polimir', as well as a facility for production of a new kind of cheap silicate concrete of high quality.

This fruitful co-operation in the spirit of creativity has helped work out the scientific principles or designs of a number of new kinds of equipment, develop new instruments, electronic equipment, chemical and other products.

The national economies of the Soviet Union and the GDR are in a new stage of development today. The two countries have practically exhausted their possibilities for extensive economic growth, so advancement of the productivity of labour and the efficiency of production have become their main problem. These new large-scale tasks stemming from the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and

the 9th Congress of the SUPG demand for objective reasons a new approach to international economic ties.

Speaking at the World Congress of Peace Forces, Leonid Brezhnev declared: "... Today it is simply unprofitable and unreasonable to limit economic co-operation to trade alone. Only by relying on broad international division of labour is it possible to keep pace with the times, to meet the demands and take advantage of the opportunities of the scientific and technological revolution. It is, perhaps, axiomatic today. Hence the need for mutually beneficial long-term and large-scale economic co-operation on both a bilateral and multilateral basis.'

The programme of production specialisation and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR for the period up to 1990 agreed upon in 1977 during President Brezhnev's friendly meeting in the Crimea with Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, will provide the basis for a new stage in developing the division of labour between the two countries. This will be a stage of long-term and large-scale co-operation embracing not only trade but areas of material production as well. International specialisation and co-operation in various sectors of the national economies of the two countries must provide a powerful stimulus to advancing efficiency.

This approach is historically motivated and is based on objective techno-economic laws operating in many sectors of modern production. As is evidenced by many years of fruitful co-operation, advancement of production efficiency depends not only on the possibility to apply advanced technological processes and install new equipment but also on its concentration, on raising volumes of output to an optimum, sufficiently high level. It is important to note that implementation of the programme of production specialisation and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR, as well as the sectoral guidelines being worked out on its basis, will rest on a fairly large number of scientifically grounded and time-tested forms of co-operation.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. Speeches and Articles*. Moscow, 1978, p. 342.

The advantages accruing to both nations from specialisation and co-operation are illustrated, to take but one example, by the record of the 'Saxenwerke' factory manufacturing large electrical machines, which is being modernised by organisations of the Soviet Union and the GDR. As is indicated by joint estimates, its reconstruction without taking advantage of international specialisation would have required an investment rate of 3.7 deutschemarks per mark of increment in annual output. At the same time, the productivity of labour would have increased by 36 per cent. If, however, this reconstruction is carried out simultaneously with production specialisation based on ties with a number of factories of the Soviet electrical engineering industry, a reduction in the range of items of output with an increase in its volume will lessen the investment rate from 3.7 deutschemarks to 2 marks with an increase in the productivity of labour by 54 per cent instead of 36. At the same time the demand of the GDR for articles withdrawn from the production programme will be met by imports from the Soviet Union of goods manufactured also at lower production costs. This exemplifies the concrete advantages offered by international specialisation.

Examples of this kind are to be found in plenty in the practical record of our co-operation within the framework of the intergovernmental commission for economic, scientific, and technical co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR. A large growth of efficiency has been achieved on the basis of specialisation and co-operation in the field of research and development. As is known, we have jointly developed a multizonal camera, MKF-6, which has been used successfully in the Soviet 'Soyuz-22' spaceship in outer space and will be modified for service on aircraft used for geological exploration, in the power and water economy of the GDR. The two countries have jointly developed some of the latest technological processes, many new types of machinery and equipment for industries of critical importance for scientific and technological progress.

These are just a few results of our fruitful co-operation over the past three decades, a record almost as long as the history of the Republic itself. This co-operation steadily grows stronger and wider year after year. It is significant that on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil more and

more Soviet production collectives are being involved in the orbit of this co-operation. The initiative of the 'Rostselmash' farm machinery plant and the 'Atommash' plant, the flagship of Soviet nuclear engineering, in organising a socialist emulation drive to mark this red-letter day has evoked enthusiastic response and support among other labour collectives.

The forthcoming visit to the GDR by a Soviet Party and government delegation led by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, in the days of the anniversary celebrations will contribute to continued consolidation of friendship, to widening and deepening co-operation for the benefit of the peoples, in the name of prosperity of the two sister nations.

The active economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR, which is part and parcel of the concerted efforts of the socialist sister nations to deepen and develop socialist economic integration, is of major significance for the entire cause of socialist and communist construction, for consolidating the positions of socialism in the world arena.

A New Stage in Economic Co-operation

An article in *Izvestia*, 13th November 1979

IN THE days of celebrating the 30th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, a splendid jubilee, which was broadly marked by the working people of the first socialist state on German soil, by the nations of the Soviet Union, and all socialist sister nations, a document of great political and economic significance was signed. It is called the Programme of Specialisation and Co-operation in Production between the Soviet Union and the GDR for the period up to 1990. This programme, which had been commended in high terms by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, and the General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, outlines for many years ahead the principal tasks of co-operation in the fields of material production, science and technology, the forms of interaction between organisations of the two states in solving national economic problems common to both of them.

Economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR, which is an inalienable component of the system of international economic ties within the Comecon framework, is developing successfully on the principles of socialist internationalism, comradeship, mutual assistance, complete equality, and mutual advantage. This co-operation has assumed tremendous scope at present and acquired a fundamentally new quality. It is being implemented in the conditions of socialist economic integration of the fraternal nations.

Today the Soviet Union accounts for 36 per cent of the turnover of the GDR's foreign trade. For its part the GDR is the biggest trade partner of the Soviet Union. The GDR accounts for 12 per cent of all

Soviet exports and 10 per cent of Soviet imports. Over a period of only eight years (1971–1978) their reciprocal commodity turnover more than doubled. The annual volume of this turnover has now grown to 8000 million roubles (from a mere 236 million roubles in 1949).

The Soviet Union is not only the biggest supplier of raw materials, fuel, and other goods required for successful development of the national economy of the GDR. Soviet exports of manufactured goods—machinery, equipments, products of the chemical, electrical engineering and electronics industries—grow year after year. Last year these lines of commodities made up one-third of the total volume of Soviet deliveries to the GDR.

The structure of commodity supplies from the GDR to the Soviet Union has changed substantially. Deliveries of chemical equipment, metal-working lathes, forging and pressing machines, electronic instruments and chemical industry products are steadily growing. Special mention should be made of the great importance of products supplied to the Soviet Union by the biggest, often unique, specialised enterprises of the GDR filling orders from the Soviet Union. In the last few years co-operation between the two countries has extended to new forms of economic relations, including co-operation in the field of science and technology, organisation of industrial co-operation, joint construction of integration projects, as well as rendering mutual assistance and technical aid in building new and modernising operating enterprises. Erich Honecker stated in this connection that “the increasingly close interlocking of the scientific, technological and economic potentials of the Soviet Union and the GDR is a characteristic feature of the planned socialist economy, the vitally important foundation of our economic stability. It allows us to take part in solving all important problems, to take advantage of the broad opportunities offered by scientific and technological progress both on the earth and in outer space. Our friendship with the Soviet Union is an example of international relations of a new type which have taken shape in the community of socialist nations and their operation in the economic sphere.”¹

¹ *World Marxist Review*, 1979, No. 10, p. 6.

Scientific and technical co-operation is now being implemented on many subjects of both fundamental and applied research. Every year thousands of specialists visit one another to do joint research, exchange scientific and technical information, and attend scientific symposiums and conferences. Permanent creative exchanges have become a matter of routine and necessity for the fraternal parties, government and public bodies, scientific research centres of the Soviet Union and the GDR. Thousands upon thousands of working people in the Soviet Union and the GDR know each other well and maintain close contacts.

The national economies of the Soviet Union and the GDR are in a new stage of development. Their main economic task now is to advance the efficiency of production and on this basis to improve the well-being of the people. All this requires a new approach to solving vital economic problems and developing economic relations, and dictates the need for mutually advantageous, long-term, and large-scale co-operation on both a bilateral and multilateral basis within the Comecon framework. It is precisely this approach that is the basis for the programme of production specialisation and co-operation of the USSR and the GDR for the period up to 1990. Speaking at a ceremonial meeting in Berlin, Leonid Brezhnev declared: “In a nutshell, its essence as follows: wherever it is possible and useful we pool our resources and productive potentials to be able to solve more successfully the most complicated problems of economic development.”¹

How can scientific potentials, material resources and productive possibilities available to the Soviet Union and the GDR be pooled on the basis of this programme to solve specific problems involved in advancing production efficiency?

Measures to increase specialisation and concentration of production to a level securing high efficiency had also been carried out on a smaller scale in the course of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GDR before this programme was signed and had proved quite effective. There is a fairly good record of such co-operation. The GDR has built highly specialised shipyards and plants—for instance, those for manufacturing passenger carriages and

¹ *Pravda*, 7th October 1979.

refrigerator cars, as well as factories producing automatic telephone exchanges, farm machines, and some other industrial articles.

This makes it possible to introduce highly efficient technological processes and equipment, to use advanced forms of management of production, to specialise design and technological bureaus. Concentration of production at specialised plants yields a very considerable economic effect. For example, as a result of redistributing production programmes between fittings factories in Penza and Magdeburg, increasing serial production of many kinds of fittings to an optimum level and modernising these factories on this basis, as well as introducing new highly efficient technological processes, the productivity of labour has roughly doubled in corresponding sections.

Co-operation helps fulfil the task of advancing productive efficiency. Highly efficient installations for production of high-pressure polyethylene called 'Polymir' are now in operation in the Soviet Union and the GDR. By joint efforts these installations were developed in a period roughly three years shorter than it would have taken each country to develop similar facilities on its own.

Another example is co-operation in developing and manufacturing automatic flow lines for making knitting needles, without which mass production of knitted goods is impossible. The most effective development solutions available to relevant factories in the Soviet Union and the GDR were combined in manufacturing these lines. As a result, the automatic lines operating successfully in the Soviet Union and the GDR are superior for productivity and product quality to those manufactured by the leading firms of Western countries.

The principle of co-operation whereby one complex article or technological process combines the best scientific and design solutions, as well as the productive potentials of both countries has made it possible to develop and apply in industry plasma furnaces for highly economical smelting of quality steel, to develop, test, and organise jointly large-scale production of highly efficient KS-6 beet-harvesting combines, to develop and manufacture a flow line for production of glass articles with a very high standard of efficiency, to organise on the basis of co-operation mass production of light footwear at the specialised 'Floare' factory jointly built in Moldavia, to build a modern plant to manufacture equipment for the electrical engineering

industry. These are just a few of the long list of areas of production in which the possibilities of specialisation and co-operation have been used. This has saved time and large material and manpower resources.

The interests of further development demand ever more insistently as a task of first priority an expansion of the spheres of specialisation and co-operation in those areas where combining resources and production potentials of the Soviet Union and the GDR could yield the greatest effect.

In 1979 the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev and the General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Erich Honecker, during their friendly meeting in the Crimea acknowledged the necessity of drawing up a programme of production specialisation and co-operation of the two fraternal countries. At all stages of compiling this programme Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker, the Central Committees of the CPSU and the SUPG gave it constant and close attention. The programme was completed, agreed upon and signed in Berlin on 5th October 1979 during the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the GDR.

The programme of specialisation and co-operation is called upon to contribute to stable development of the national economies of the two countries, to enhancing the efficiency of social production, to perfecting the production structure, to higher concentration of production, facilities which enables optimum levels to be attained in serial production and highly efficient processes and methods of production organisation to be introduced on this basis. The programme covers the whole range of economic, scientific, and technical relations, the main strategic directions of integration of the national economies of the two fraternal countries. It provides for two groups of measures intended to enhance the efficiency of production through co-operation.

The first group are measures to develop and produce on the basis of both specialisation and co-operation new highly efficient types of equipment, machines and instruments, to develop new types of structural and other materials, to improve technological processes to meet

the needs of the national economy in both countries. These measures include development of such important processes as production of heat and electric power with fuller use of hard fuels and widening the possibilities of using effectively those kinds of fuel which are available in quantity.

Further development of specialisation and co-operation in production is inconceivable without deepening co-operation in the field of science and technology. Therefore, the programme stipulates that organisations of the Soviet Union and the GDR should combine their scientific potentials to a still greater extent than heretofore to make more effective use of available scientific research results of potential importance and productive facilities and accelerate scientific and technological progress in both countries. Development of specialisation and co-operation in production must largely contribute to solving the cardinal problem of developing science and scientific and technical co-operation, one of stepping up application of vital research and development results.

The measures planned in the field of science and technology for the coming decade must ensure comprehensive and rational use of raw materials, fuel and energy resources, more complete utilisation of secondary raw materials; development of more efficient types of machines, equipment and instruments; development of modern technologies with high-degree automation; enhancement of the quality and technical standards of industrial articles and consumer goods subject to reciprocal deliveries.

For example, in the field of metallurgy scientists and specialists will develop and improve by joint efforts technological processes and equipment for manufacturing steels and alloys, work out a new process for automated cold rolling of steel tubes, and rolling of strip steel with protective coatings. Co-operation is to be stepped up in the field of powder metallurgy, in developing special and auxiliary materials for instrument-making and electronics. The programme devotes prime attention to the problems of saving metal, raw and other materials in the national economy.

The programme also provides for an early solution to social problems by planning development through co-operation of a wide range of machines and equipment facilitating the work of factory and office

workers. One could mention in this connection the agreement contained in the programme on developing automatic robots which can work at conveyor belts and on arduous jobs with dust, high temperature, and other hazards. In addition, the programme includes an arrangement on mechanisation of auxiliary and similar processes, that is jobs on which the level of mechanisation, let alone automation, is relatively low and unskilled labour is still being used on a large scale.

Great attention is attached to developing production of high-quality consumer goods.

Even this short list of problems to be solved on the basis of the programme vividly illustrates the vast amount of organising work which has to be carried out in the course of its performance. In this context the programme provides for a second group of measures, those of organising work to secure the pooling of scientific, technological and productive potentials of both sides. This is co-operation in modernising enterprises, co-ordination of the efforts of specialists of both countries in fulfilling large-scale comprehensive tasks, construction of new and enhancing the efficiency of operating specialised capacities.

Widening of the scope of work in specialisation will require still greater stability in fulfilling obligations, unconditional implementation of plans of reciprocal commodity deliveries. Expansion of co-operation in research and development will demand to a still greater extent than at present measures to accelerate application of research results in production. This dictates the need for continued quests of corresponding forms of co-operation.

The measures outlined in the programme naturally cannot envisage all the stages of forthcoming work, all details of co-operation. In view of this, the Ministries and government departments of the two countries are drawing up plans on the basis of the principles and goals formulated in the programme 'Guidelines for Developing Specialisation and Co-operation up to 1990' in individual sectors of the national economies of the Soviet Union and the GDR.

The character and guidelines of co-operation at Ministry and sectoral level may be judged, for example, by its development in the chemical industry. Scientific, technical and economic co-operation

between the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and its counterpart in the GDR is now being pursued in the direction of joint development of technological processes, technical documents, designs of technological installations and equipment, development of industrial pilot plants by teams of specialists and performance of research and development work on agreed subjects based on integrated plans.

Relying on the complex of measures in specialisation and co-operation envisaged in the 'Guidelines' Ministries and governments departments of the two countries will draw up and conclude relevant agreements. These agreements will cover the entire range of specific problems to be solved in the process of co-operation in a given area.

To enhance the efficiency of scientific and technical co-operation it is necessary to continue the efforts to improve the organisation of ties in this field, to reinforce the material facilities of joint research and development, to terminate research on subjects of secondary importance more resolutely.

Broader use will be made of such an effective form of co-operation, which has proved its value in practice, as joint work by mixed teams of specialists of the Soviet Union and the GDR in major directions outlined in the programme. This will speed up implementation of specific assignments in developing new technological processes and equipment, beginning with research and development and experimental work and ending with construction of new large industrial installations. Joint work by specialists and workers of the Soviet Union and the GDR will make for fuller use of the latest achievements and scientific research potentials of the two countries, thereby reducing considerably periods of development and introduction of processes and lessening the expenses involved on each side.

Implementation of the programme of specialisation and co-operation in production between the Soviet Union and the GDR up to the year 1990, just as compiling and implementing such programmes of co-operation between the USSR and other Comecon countries, will contribute to further growth of the economic and scientific potentials of the sister nations, help consolidate the might of the socialist community and enhance its international prestige in the cause of the struggle for peace and international co-operation.

Broad Prospects

**A *Pravda* interview with A. N. Tikhonov,
Member of the Politburo of the CPSU
Central Committee, First Vice-Chairman
of the USSR Council of Ministers,
17th June 1980**

Question. The approval of a long-term programme of guidelines for co-operation in the economic and industrial field to be signed at a later date was a major result of the recent 9th Session of the USSR-FRG intergovernmental commission. What impact will the adoption of this programme have on the development of bilateral economic ties? Could you comment on their present state?

Answer. The long-term programme which has been drafted will give a new impulse to the development of economic and industrial co-operation on a stable and long-term basis. This refers to practical implementation of the principles and aims envisaged in the agreement signed on 6th May 1978 during the visit to Federal Germany by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This programme will afford new opportunities for increasing bilateral commodity turnover by enlarging the quantities and widening the range of commodities delivered, for developing traditional and new forms of co-operation. The long-term programme will be an inter-governmental instrument. Indeed, only with the assistance of the governments and government bodies of the two countries is it possible to solve successfully and in good time problems of large-scale and long-term co-operation envisaged in the programme. As far as the present state of Soviet-West German economic relations is concerned, I can say the following. Over the decade since the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty, which put relations between the Soviet Union

and the FRG on a solid political and legal foundation and created favourable prerequisites for developing mutually beneficial co-operation in various fields, the two sides have done much by joint efforts to organise political, economic, cultural and other ties. Top-level meetings of Soviet and West German leaders have played a great part in this matter. Suffice it to recall Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG in May 1978 when such important documents were signed as the joint Declaration and the 25-year Agreement on Economic Co-operation.

The great scope of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and the FRG is evidenced in particular, by the fact that during the last eight years the FRG has led the field in Soviet trade with the Western countries, while the Soviet Union is one of the ten biggest trade partners of the Federal Republic. The commodity turnover between the two countries in the period 1976–1980 is expected to top the 17,000 million roubles' mark, which will be a more than 100 per cent increment from the five years before. This is precisely the target set during the top-level meeting in May 1978.

The stability of our economic ties is based on large and long-term agreements and contracts, such as the 'gas-pipes' deal intended for a quarter-century, the agreement on building the Oskol iron-and-steel complex, within the framework of which contracts have already been concluded for a total of over 380 million roubles, a 'buy-back' compensation agreement on construction in the Soviet Union of a complex to manufacture polyester fibres, threads, and raw materials needed for their manufacture, and other projects. One could also mention, for example, the delivery to the Soviet Union of seventeen gas compressor stations worth about 500 million roubles, which was successfully completed last year. Negotiations are in progress on a number of other large-scale and long-term projects. For its part, the Soviet Union has supplied to the Federal Republic more than 35,000 million cubic metres of gas and is exporting there large quantities of other fuel, sawn timber and engineering goods in steadily growing amounts.

In my opinion, the level of today's bilateral trade and economic relations can be regarded as a good basis for their continued expansion.

Question. It is generally acknowledged that the opportunities available in the field of East–West trade and economic relations, between the Soviet Union and the FRG in particular, are far from exhausted. What areas of co-operation can be developed in perspective?

Answer. The opportunities are, indeed, fairly great. Suffice it to compare the economic potentials of the USSR and the FRG with the actual scope of their bilateral relations to get a clear idea of the magnitude and wide variety of opportunities available. This was a subject of discussion, in particular, at meetings of the commission. The two sides expressed their interest in widening co-operation in the field of power development. The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss in principle the possibilities for co-operation in developing deposits of energy sources in the continental shelf of the northern seas, hydrogenization and gasification of coal, exchange experience in saving energy and raw materials. We supported the idea of setting up by the time of the next session of the commission a team of experts to prepare specific proposals for organising co-operation in this field. The Soviet Union might also be willing to exchange opinions on possible consultations and joint moves to prepare an all-European conference on energy problems.

One could also mention some new forms of production and technical co-operation. Work is in progress on projects of co-operation in production and marketing of metal-working lathes, presses, coal-mining and other equipment. Another promising field is joint design and engineering research, as well as developing new technological processes and equipment.

Business and banking circles of Federal Germany have come forward with a number of proposals for co-operation in implementing large-scale projects which can be built in the USSR in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period (1981–1985). The Soviet side is ready to make a thorough examination of these proposals.

The Western, including West German, press is actively discussing the question of building a new large gas pipeline from the northern areas of the Tyumen Region to the Soviet Western border. Indeed, we have received proposals to this effect from a number of West German firms and from other West European countries. They are willing to import Soviet gas in a total volume of 30,000–40,000 million cubic

metres a year and more and to supply us with pipes and equipment necessary for building this gas pipeline. The Soviet organisations concerned are now studying these proposals. No final decision has yet been taken. I can only say that it is a very large project, and its successful implementation will require great capital investments and will depend, in particular, on the terms of credits and on how effectively this deal, if it takes place, will be guaranteed by the governments of the countries interested in supplies of this gas.

Question. It has of late been suggested within some circles in the West that the existing ties with the Soviet Union could be painlessly wound down without causing much damage to the Western economy.

What is your opinion on this subject?

Answer. Trade and economic relations are based not on unilateral advantages but on mutual benefit. This is axiomatic. The question as to who stands to gain and who is to lose from curtailment of these ties is senseless in itself: all are to lose a great deal in the event of such a development.

References to Moscow's 'dependence' on Western technology are unfair, to say the least. The scientific and technological potential of the USSR allows it to cope with tasks in any modern area of production. International trade and exchanges, just as many other ties between nations have long since been based on mutual benefit and on the principle of international division of labour: countries find it advantageous to produce some goods by themselves for sale and to buy other goods from other countries. Any nation—and the Western countries are not an exception to the rule—develops economic ties, pursuing primarily its own interests.

Co-operation between East and West not only meets the economic interests of the two sides but also benefits the policy of *détente*, strengthens mutual trust and good-neighbourly relations. It lays the groundwork for the future. The joint declaration signed at the end of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Bonn emphasises the willingness of the two sides to make 'good-neighbourly relations and growing co-operation dependably guaranteed for the future generations as well'.

For Friendship and Co-operation

Speech at a dinner in Vienna, 8th April
1981

THE friendly Soviet–Austrian relations are indisputably an important historic achievement of the peoples of Austria and the Soviet Union, and their continued consolidation meets with profound understanding in my country. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Herr Federal Chancellor for his cordial invitation for us to visit the Austrian Republic and our gratitude for the cordial hospitality accorded us here.

Soviet–Austrian relations become increasingly diversified and richer in content year after year. Herr Federal Chancellor has also referred to this fact today. This is the result of the constant efforts being made by both sides, their common interest in mutually beneficial co-operation, an expression of respect which the Soviet and Austrian peoples have for each other.

In his report to the 26th Party Congress the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, referred to the successful development of Soviet relations with Austria as a welcome phenomenon in international life. This statement illustrated the stability and consistency of Soviet good-neighbour policy in relation to the Austrian Republic. Our current visit to Austria should be regarded primarily as another step in maintaining contacts between statesmen and political leaders of the two countries, which enable us to discuss and successfully solve problems of our bilateral relations, to set guidelines for continued development of our co-operation.

As usual, on such occasions we have a detailed exchange of opinions on a wide range of international problems, seeking to identify areas of contact between our positions in the interest of consolidating *détente* and peace.

Our visit has not yet been concluded, but we have already good reason to say that our meetings and talks with the Austrian Federal President Herr Kirchschräger, the Federal Chancellor Herr Kreisky, and other statesmen have indisputably been useful and will provide a stimulus to further progress in Soviet-Austrian co-operation.

This refers, above all, to trade between the two countries and their economic relations in a broader sense. Over the last decade the two sides have established by joint efforts a stable structure of trade, industrial, scientific, and technical ties, which effectively meet the economic needs of Austria and the Soviet Union.

The distinctions and differences in the character of the industrial potentials and raw-material resources of the two countries, far from being an obstacle to co-operation, on the contrary favour its development. This is borne out by the steady growth of the turnover of Soviet-Austrian trade which has more than doubled over the last five years.

We hope that this trend will continue. Needless to say, to maintain it, the two sides will have to apply whatever efforts will be necessary, to display persistence and initiative in quests of interesting and mutually beneficial solutions.

The long-term programme of developing and deepening economic, scientific, technical, and industrial co-operation in the coming decade which has been signed recently provides a good basis for this work and we intend to facilitate its implementation in every way.

Participation of Austrian firms in building an iron-and-steel plant in the Soviet Union and a new gas pipeline can be an important step in this direction. This will enable an increment in Soviet gas supplies to Austria. Negotiations are nearing completion on the conclusion of a large contract for deliveries to the Soviet Union of 800,000 tons of pipes during the coming four years, and other talks are in progress.

Last year the Austrian people celebrated the 25th anniversary of the State Treaty for the restoration of an independent and democratic Austria and the proclamation of its permanent neutrality. These political acts dependably serve the national interests of the Austrian people today, too, and allow Austria to take an active part in international intercourse.

Along with other European nations neutral Austria has made an effective contribution to promoting the policy of *détente* and is doing much today to uphold it. We highly appreciate the efforts the Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky is making in this field.

The world situation has of late changed appreciably, unfortunately not for the better. Forces who are staking on the arms race and termination of the process of *détente* in an effort to achieve military superiority have again become active in the international arena. Their policy means further growth of the burden of military spending, undermines international co-operation in European in particular, the groundwork for which was laid in the seventies at the cost of great collective efforts.

This dangerous militarist policy is opposed by the Soviet policy of peace. As Leonid Brezhnev declared at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the struggle to lessen the danger of war and to check the arms race has always been and remains the key direction of the foreign policy of our Party and state.

Today this task has assumed special significance and urgency.

The congress put forward a series of important ideas and constructive proposals to find a solution to the most vital problems of today and to achieve a radical improvement in the international situation.

Leonid Brezhnev has recently sent special messages to the heads of state and government of a few countries, including the Federal Chancellor of the Austrian republic calling their attention to these Soviet initiatives.

Prevention of nuclear war is a task of crucial importance. We have insistently proposed, therefore, a resumption without delay of talks with the United States on limitation of strategic arms; naturally, all progress made in this field so far should be preserved.

An agreement concerning nuclear missiles in Europe could be of vital significance for our continent.

In this context the Soviet Union has proposed to establish for the period of negotiations on this problem a moratorium on deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear vehicles of NATO and the Soviet Union, that is, to impose a freeze on the number and quality of existing nuclear facilities, including, naturally, the American forward-based nuclear forces in this area.

The Soviet Union has come forward with yet another important initiative. We have declared our readiness to extend the zone of confidence-building measures to the entire European part of Soviet territory on condition of a corresponding expansion on the part of the Western nations.

I hope you will agree that this step will create the prerequisites for reaching agreement at the Madrid conference on convening a conference on military *détente* and disarmament in Europe.

I wish to emphasise that in advancing all these proposals we do not seek unilateral advantages for ourselves. However, we proceed from the assumption that in the course of negotiations all sides concerned should consistently abide by the principle of parity and equal security, which is a *sine qua non* for success in such negotiations.

Our proposals cover a wide range of problems. They concern the situation not only in Europe but also in other important regions of the world, including the Middle East, the Persian Gulf Area, the Indian Ocean and the Far East.

We expect that the governments concerned will examine them carefully and give a constructive reply to these proposals.

We propose that the arms race should give way to a limitation and reduction of armaments and intensified confrontation to expansion of co-operation and contacts, a broad dialogue between East and West, between all interested nations so as to establish peace on Earth by common efforts for the benefit of living and future generations.

Ladies and gentlemen.

We are visiting your country in the days when the Austrian people are preparing to celebrate the 36th anniversary of Austria's liberation from nazism and the restoration of the Austrian state. The Soviet people and other peoples of Europe have sacrificed millions of lives to win victory over fascism. Their memory is sacred. It makes it incumbent on all of us to spare no effort to preserve peace.

An Interview on Austrian Television, 10th April 1981

Question. Could you describe in the first place your general impressions of your visit to Austria and your talks with Austrian statesmen?

Answer. This has been an interesting and we believe, a useful visit.

I avail myself of this good opportunity to fulfil the request of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and President of the Soviet State, to convey his greetings and good wishes to the workers, peasants, office employees, members of the artistic, scientific and business communities and young people, to the entire Austrian nation. I am satisfied to say that both sides displayed willingness to continue deepening their co-operation, widen their economic, scientific, cultural and other ties to the mutual advantage of the Soviet and Austrian peoples.

We are thankful to the Federal President, Herr Kirchschnläger, the Federal Chancellor, Herr Kreisky and other Austrian statesmen for the cordial atmosphere which surrounded our talks.

Question. Herr Premier, could you comment on the state of Soviet-Austrian bilateral relations and the prospects for developing them.

Answer. We believe that our co-operation is developing favourably on the whole in all areas of our bilateral relations.

I am pleased to note that Austrian leaders share our opinion on this question.

Soviet-Austrian ties have a stable character and are not exposed to the fluctuations of the moment. This stability is the result of the consistent and constructive efforts being made by both sides at various levels.

Top-level contacts between Austrian and Soviet leaders play an important part in developing our relations.

The good relations between the two countries are based, as in the past, on the State Treaty of 1955 on the restoration of an independent

democratic Austria and the permanent neutrality status proclaimed by your country. The favourable climate in our relations has had a positive impact on the development of our economic ties.

A new long-term programme of developing economic co-operation between the two countries in the period up to 1990 was signed in Moscow at the beginning of this year. It is called upon to play an important part in widening our economic ties, and we are determined to do all in our power to have it implemented.

I believe that the mutual understanding we have reached will make for successful completion of the negotiations we are holding with Austrian firms on a number of specific problems and initiate some new projects.

It is important for the two countries to co-operate in other fields as well. This was also an item on the agenda on our talks. Recently we attended the ceremony of signing intergovernmental agreements on public health and agreed to widen exchanges in the field of culture, sports and tourism.

Question. Herr Chairman, the future of our economic co-operation is evidently linked to a certain extent with Soviet economic development.

Could you describe in brief Soviet economic plans for the coming five years.

Answer. Our plans for the coming five years provide for stable growth of the Soviet economy, high development rates, large total increments in production and on this basis for further improvement of the standards of life of the Soviet people.

Enormous funds will again be spent to meet the social needs, to build schools and other educational establishments, kindergartens and creches, sanatoria and holiday homes, medical institutions and sports facilities. In the coming five years 50 million citizens will be given new apartments and improve their housing conditions.

It will be recalled that Soviet citizens enjoy all these benefits either for free or at a minimum price.

Question. Problems of the modern international situation feature prominently in your discussions with Austrian leaders.

Could you describe your approach to the most vital international problems?

Answer. Indeed, in our discussions with Austrian leaders we devoted a great deal of attention to international problems.

We agreed unanimously that in contemporary international life, however varied it may be, there is one problem which is equally important to all nations. This is the problem of preservation of peace.

The programme of normalising the international situation advanced by Leonid Brezhnev recently serves precisely this noble aim.

This programme combines a series of initiatives which are crucial to the cause of peace.

Proposals for checking the arms race hold pride of place among them. These are concrete and realistic proposals covering the main aspects and directions of *détente* in the military field.

The Soviet Union has proposed an immediate resumption of talks with the United States on limitation and reduction of strategic arms, on the understanding, naturally, that all progress made in this field so far should be preserved.

It goes without saying that such talks must be based on the principle of parity and equal security.

We have proposed a just solution to the problem of nuclear missile weapons in Europe in the interest of peace and security in our continent. It is necessary to establish a moratorium on deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear vehicles of NATO and the Soviet Union, including, of course, the American forward-based nuclear forces in this area.

Such a moratorium could be in effect until the conclusion of a permanent treaty on a limitation or, which would be better, a reduction of the nuclear forces of both sides in Europe.

A conference on military *détente* and disarmament in Europe would be an important step along the path of consolidating security on the European continent. To facilitate a positive solution to this problem we have proposed an extension of the zone of confidence-building measures in the military field to the entire European part of the Soviet Union. The zone of confidence-building measures to be taken by the Western nations must be widened accordingly.

At the negotiations in Vienna we gave full attention to the views of the Austrian side on the problems under discussion.

Naturally, each of us may have his own views of problems, but I believe that we were unanimous on the main thing: it is imperative to check the arms race, to preserve *détente* and to consolidate peace.

This is a highly important result of the meetings and talks held in Vienna.

Question. What would you like to wish to the Austrian people?

Answer. We sincerely wish the Austrian people to enjoy, as before, the benefits of peace, the permanent neutrality of their state, to contribute actively to the cause of international *détente*, to developing peaceful, good-neighbourly relations among nations.

I wish all citizens of the Austrian Republic great success and prosperity.

Towards a Peaceful and Happy Future for All Children

Replies to the *Literary Gazette*, 28th March
1979

Question. What is the purpose of the International Year of the Child?

Answer. The principal aim of the International Year of the Child is to attract the attention of governments and broad segments of the public to one of the most acute social problems of today, one of improving the life of children.

According to data of the United Nations Children's Fund, hundreds of millions of children in the non-socialist zone of the world are in a situation of bitter plight. They are undernourished, cannot go to school, and have to take a job at an early age. In today's world almost 250 million people are suffering from hunger and diseases caused by chronic undernourishment.

According to statistics of the Pan-American Health Bureau, 7.5 million children in Latin America have died during the last ten years, because they were denied medical aid.

At present there are 300 million children of school age in the world who do not attend school. Abject poverty compels many parents to send their children to work. According to data of the International Labour Organisation at least 54 million children are forced to earn their living, in particular 14 million in Asia, about 10 million in Africa, and more than 3 million in Latin America. Such a phenomenon is still encountered in developed capitalist countries of Western Europe and in the United States. Here hundreds of thousands of children aged 8 to 15 years have to work at times 10 to 12 hours a day for a mere pittance.

The United Nations decision to hold the International Year of the Child will make it possible again to rivet public attention to the plight of children in these countries, to determine ways of giving them urgent aid to meet their vital needs for health care and education, and ways of protecting maternity and childhood.

To struggle for a happy life of all children means to work, above all, for consolidating peace and the security of nations, to press for decisive progress in the cause of disarmament. Peace is necessary to the children as a guarantee of their happiness; it is only in conditions of peace that full development, harmonious upbringing and education of children is possible.

Children are first victims of war. Millions of Vietnamese children were killed or crippled or orphaned during the US aggression against Vietnam. As a result of the perfidious Chinese attack kindergartens, hospitals, and schools were destroyed, women and children died. The peoples of the world indignant at the Chinese aggression express their solidarity with courageous Vietnam and display concern for the women and children who have suffered from this aggression.

The International Year of the Child can also be broadly used for continued mobilisation of world opinion to a struggle against the arms race, for a reduction in the military budgets, for using the funds saved to meet the social needs, to improve the life of children in particular. Joint actions of public movements of different political affiliations are possible on this platform.

Most organisations and movements which took part in preparing and observing the Year of the Woman have come forward with the initiative of convening a World Conference on problems of childhood. The conference is to be held in Moscow under the motto 'For a Peaceful and Happy Future of All Children' between 7 and 11 September 1979.

This initiative has won broad support from youth, women's and trade union organisations, the movements for peace and solidarity, as well as the United Nations and its specialised institutions. This conference is to be the main event of the International Year of the Child.

According to a report by the Soviet delegation at the United Nations, by the present time national committees for the International Year of the Child have been set up in 123 countries of the

world; some of them are chaired or patronised by heads of state and government.

In the majority of socialist countries such national committees and commissions have also started to function; they are headed, as a rule, by Vice-Premiers or Ministers. The terms of reference of these committees include co-ordination and control over progress in implementing measures planned by the Parties and governments of these countries within the framework of the International Year of the Child.

Question. You have touched upon the international aspects of the Year of the Child. What tasks are pursued by its observance in the USSR? Could you comment on the life of children in this country?

Answer. In the Soviet Union the International Year of the Child was opened by a televised address of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

President Brezhnev approved of the initiative in proclaiming the International Year of the Child and expressed concern that the fact that far from all children in today's world enjoyed the benefits of a tranquil and happy childhood. He reaffirmed that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government regard concern for the younger generation as one of its principal tasks.

The Soviet people received his statement with profound satisfaction. It evoked broad response throughout the world and was highly appreciated by the international public.

This statement convincingly demonstrated again that in this country concern for children is a matter of national importance.

Since the early days of Soviet government child welfare has been one of the major concerns of the Soviet State. Since then there has not been a day when this concern was relaxed or relegated to the background even for a moment. Love of children has become a moral standard in socialist society. The Soviet people enthusiastically support the ideas of the International Year of the Child.

Concern for children, protection of maternity and childhood have been given the force of law in the new Constitution of the USSR.

The Soviet State has shown all mankind an example of effective all-round care for the health of women and for improving their work-

ing conditions, for the health and harmonious development of children. The successes and experience of the Soviet State, which has comprehensively solved the problem of public health and which has constitutionally guaranteed this right to every Soviet citizen, are a splendid example of social justice and humaneness for millions of people throughout the world. This experience is being studied not only by our friends in many countries of the world but by our ideological opponents as well.

The children get what is best! The CPSU and the Soviet Government are unswervingly following this behest of Lenin's, providing realistic possibilities for raising the young generation strong, cheerful, loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and ready to uphold the heroic traditions of the old generation. One can judge the degree of a country's social well-being, the humaneness of its state system by the extent of its concern for the children. It is not fortuitous that the USSR is called a land of happy childhood: it is doing enormous work for the benefit of the younger generation. Evidence of the constant concern of the Soviet State for the interests of mothers and children is the resolutions adopted by the Party and Government in recent years on payment of maternity allowances to the extent of their full earnings regardless of the working record to all working women; on an extension of paid leave for the care of a sick child; on the institution of allowances for the maintenance of children to low-income families in which the average gross income per member is below 50 roubles a month; on payment of temporary disability allowances to all factory and office workers who have three children or more to the extent of 100 per cent of their earnings regardless of the length of continuous service; on measures for continued development of pre-school child-care centres on collective farms; on developing industrial production of baby foods.

Government spending only for tuition at schools and for service of children in orphanages, crèches, kindergartens, Young Pioneer camps and extraschool children's institutions amounted to about 15,000 million roubles, or about 60 per cent of all state budget expenditure for public education.

Government spending per pupil of general schools is over 180 roubles a year. The annual cost of maintenance of one child at a

crèche is over 550 roubles, and at a kindergarten, over 470 roubles, 80 per cent of this spending being financed by the state.

In accordance with the resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of 25th April 1978 'On Additional Measures to Improve the Working Conditions of Women Employed in the National Economy', the USSR State Committee for Labour and Wages and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions have approved a new list of fields of production, professions and jobs on which employment of female labour is forbidden. This is another striking illustration of concern for the health of women workers and future generations.

The Soviet Union has over 120,000 permanent kindergartens, crèche-kindergartens, and crèches with accommodation for more than 13 million children. During the Five-Year Plan period pre-school childcare centres with accommodation for 2.5-2.8 million children will be built.

This country has built a wide network of health centres and holiday homes, which provide medical treatment and holiday facilities to over 1.5 million young children and teenagers every year, about 500,000 of them being accommodated at trade union health centres. Accommodation is provided free of charge out of social security funds and the state budget; 50 per cent reductions in fares have been instituted for travel to the place of treatment and back.

Very popular are sanatoria, holiday homes and boarding houses for parents with children of 4 to 14 years of age. Twenty-three such sanatoria and specialised departments with 7300 beds, 300 holiday homes and boarding houses with accommodation for 107,000 are now open. Every year about 400,000 young children and teenagers spend their holidays there together with their parents. Towards 1980 the number of beds at sanatoria will be increased to 8100, and at holiday homes and boarding houses, to 115,000. Eight new sanatoria, each with accommodation for 500, will be built out of funds obtained from nationwide communist subbotniks.¹

Every summer a child health-promotion campaign begins according to tradition in this country in the early days of June. Little tots

¹ Subbotnik, Free Saturday voluntary work.—Translator.

are taken to summer cottages in the country and schoolchildren to Young Pioneer Camps. In compliance with the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee 'On Measures for Continued Improvement of Organisation of Rest and Leisure of Young Pioneers and Schoolchildren', the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, local trade union councils and committees are regularly widening the network of Young Pioneer camps, and improving their work. A total of 175 new Young Pioneer camps were built between 1974 and 1978. In 1978, 48,000 camps of various types organised by the trade unions accommodated 12 million young children and teenagers, in particular 576,000 schoolchildren spent their holidays in sanatorium-type camps, 2.1 million in urban Young Pioneer camps, 3.1 million senior-form pupils, in work and recreational camps, sports, health-building tourist and other camps. A large proportion of children are given accommodation on privileged terms or free of charge.

Tourism of schoolchildren and adolescents is assuming ever greater scope. The number of tourist itineraries for parents with children is increasing too. In 1979 about one million parents with children will enjoy the benefits of tourist accommodation.

Question. The public in many countries of the world is worried by the fact that young people begin independent life inadequately trained, have no occupational skills, are denied competent career guidance, and cannot find a job for a long time. What is being done in this country to prepare young people for independent life and work?

Answer. As is known, in this country great attention is paid to training pupils for future work to raise a worthy replacement for the working class and the collective farm peasantry.

In his New Year message to the children, Leonid Brezhnev said: "We seek to teach children in the spirit of goodness... to teach them to respect work and to be able to work for the benefit of all people."¹

This statement illustrates the key principle in the education of Soviet children.

The material facilities for vocational training are being reinforced. Over the last few years scores of thousands of training classrooms,

laboratories, workshops and occupational guidance centres have been fitted out with various equipment at schools. School production teams and school forestry stations have been set up. More than 800 interschool training and production complexes and about 1700 training shops and sections have been opened.

Ministries and government departments, local trade union councils and committees pay keen attention to raising a reserve of the working class within the system of vocational training. The nationwide socialist emulation drive of vocational school collectives effectively helps to improve the training of young people for future employment. Now a review of the working conditions of young people announced by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the YCL Central Committee is in progress throughout the country. In the course of the review new possibilities are identified and actively used for continued improvement of the conditions in which young people work, study and rest and for advancing their occupational, general educational and cultural standards.

It should be pointed out that in recent years the work in involving young people in amateur scientific and technical activities has been appreciably improved.

In the harmonious development of the younger generation an important role is played by children's choirs, choreographic, drama, opera, and circus companies and studios, folk instrument orchestras, imitative art circles and studios. Their number is steadily growing.

There are a total of 15,500 specialised institutions, in particular about 7000 amateur circles at community centres and clubs, where young children and teenagers have fascinating pastimes.

Traditional children's festivals are another feature of Soviet life. Millions of young children and teenagers take part in week-long book, music, film and theatrical festivals. The trade unions invite writers, composers, musicians, and actors to entertain and teach children. Tens of thousands of teenagers took part in readers' conferences on Leonid Brezhnev's books *The Little Land*, *Rebirth*, *The Virgin Land*, met heroes of the Great Patriotic War, pioneers of the virgin land, and grain farmers. Every year about 30 million children take part in merry New Year tree festivals.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 7, p. 577.

Local Soviets of trade unions, the YCL, and sports organisations are making constant efforts to involve as many young children and teenagers as possible in active physical culture and sports training and in tourism. Every year about 20 million schoolchildren take an active part in contests for prizes of the 'Football', 'Golden Puck', 'Silver Skates', and other clubs. During the last three years about 15 million young athletes have competed under the programme of nationwide children's sports games known as 'Hopeful Starts', the finals being held at the 'Artek' national Young Pioneer camp. In 1978 the country had almost 6000 sports schools for children and adolescents, which trained almost 2 million young athletes. In addition, 19,000 youths are trained at 85 defensive combat sports schools for children. Another 50 such schools are to be opened in the current Five-Year Plan period.

In recent years greater attention has been given to physical culture training of young children and teenagers at their places of residence: about 11,000 sports grounds have been built, more than 1100 physical culture and sports clubs opened and about 9000 children's sports teams set up.

Question. What measures are being taken in this country to strengthen the health of mothers and children and to improve their medical service?

Answer. In this country concern for lofty moral ideals, for developing the intellectual abilities of the child harmoniously combines with concern for its health. The USSR is the world's first country to have established a scientifically grounded system of comprehensive medical check-ups of every child. When a baby is still expected it is already the object of utmost concern, every measure being taken to help it to come along in good health. It is precisely the mother and childcare service that most strikingly embodies the prophylactic orientation of Soviet medicine.

Outpatient polyclinical assistance to women and children is made available through a broad network of maternity consultation centres, pediatric and outpatient polyclinics, ancillary obstetric and ancillary medical centres. In 1978 the number of maternity consultation centres surpassed 10,000, and there were over 12,000 pediatric polyclinics. Plans are afoot to continue developing and reinforcing the material

and technical facilities of medical service, to build large polyclinical hospitals to new standard designs, in particular pediatric hospitals (with 300-400 beds), maternity homes (250 beds) and obstetric departments (120 beds).

During the last fifteen years alone the number of hospital beds for children in the USSR has been increased more than 50 per cent to reach a total of 550,000, and the number of beds (medical and obstetric) for expectant mothers and women in childbirth and gynaecological patients has grown by 69,000 to reach 399,000 in 1977.

Protection of mother and child health has become a matter of truly nationwide concern in this country. Funds provided by the nationwide Communist subbotniks have been used to build maternity homes with almost 5000 beds (including the year 1978), pediatric hospitals with 8000 beds and polyclinics for 7580 admissions per shift. Funds for the subbotnik of 1978 will be invested in building children's homes with 2000 beds, preschool child-care centres with 50,000 beds and schools for a total of 18,600 pupils. Construction is under way of the national research centre for mother and child-health protection.

Today the health of women and children is under the care of tens of thousands of medical specialists. Various kinds of specialised medical aid to mothers and children have been broadly developed in this country.

The establishment in this country of well-equipped departments of infant pathology is a great achievement of the last few years. Consultations and offices providing advice on marital and family affairs are a new form of work in rendering medico-social aid.

As a result of the tireless concern of the Communist Party and government for advancing the well-being and cultural standards of the Soviet people, for strengthening the health of children, for implementing wide-scale sanitary and epidemic control measures, as well as the selfless work of medical workers enormous progress has been made in the field of child health-care in this country. Physical development has improved considerably in all age groups of children of all nationalities and in all areas of the country. This is evidence of the fact that children in town and country, living in central regions and in the most distant areas enjoy equal conditions of upbringing and edu-

cation, that their health is protected with equal concern and competence. The rate of infectious diseases has drastically declined.

These and other successes in child health protection are largely due to the high level of Soviet medical science and practical application of its achievements. The most vital problems of pediatrics in the USSR are studied at twenty-six research institutes of pediatrics, mother and child protection, obstetrics and gynaecology, as well as at 346 Chairs of Pediatrics at medical institutes and institutes for advanced medical training. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers has outlined the main programme of continued improvement of mother and child health-care, and the public health agencies have been faced with new important tasks. The material and technical facilities of obstetric and pediatric institutions will be further developed.

As declared at the 25th Congress of the CPSU the central task of the Tenth Five-Year Plan is consistent implementation of the Communist Party's policy of advancing the material and cultural standards of life of the people and hence promoting the progress of public health, education, and culture—everything that contributes to the moulding of the new man, the all-round harmonious development of the individual.

Question. The Commission for the International Year of the Child has recently held its first meeting under your chairmanship. What decisions have been taken? What are the commission's plans?

Answer. The commission discussed and approved its work programme. It is planned to discuss at meetings of the commission problems involved in fulfilling the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan for developing the network of pre-school childcare centres, schools, and pediatric institutions, increasing the production and improving the quality of goods for children, as well as for improving trade in these goods. The commission will hear reports of the USSR Ministry of Health and the USSR Ministry of Public Education on the work of health and educational institutions in improving medical service of children at pre-school childcare centres and at schools. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions will report to the commission on the development in the Soviet Union of facilities for children's, as well as family recreation. The commission will discuss at its

meetings problems involved in preparations for the World Conference 'For a Peaceful and Happy Future of All Children', as well as participation in other events within the framework of the International Year of the Child.

The commission discussed and approved a large plan of measures to observe the International Year of the Child in the USSR. I shall mention a few of them. Work will be continued in the nationwide public review of the conditions of work, life, rest, and leisure of women employed in the national economy, as well as a review of the working conditions of teenagers with the main object of securing advancement of their occupational skills, general educational and cultural standards. The commission outlined measures to intensify control over progress in building schools and pre-school childcare centres. Large-scale inspection of the work of every-day service establishments, shops selling consumer goods and foods for children is to be organised. The commission has on its plan measures to improve medical service of mothers and children, to secure continued expansion of sanatorial facilities for parents and children, accommodation of children in Young Pioneer camps, their involvement in excursions, various circles and amateur art activities, physical culture and sports.

Other events to be held during 1979 are the nationwide sociopolitical lectures on the subject 'Socialism and Happy Motherhood and Childhood', public meetings in Moscow and other Soviet cities devoted to International Save the Children Day, and the 'Let the Sun Shine Forever' children's festival.

There will be week-long reviews of books for children and adolescents under the motto 'Writers Meet Children', of technological and production achievements under the motto 'Scientists, Innovators and Inventors Meet the Younger Generation', film festivals, exhibitions of children's drawings and photographs, amateur art festivals, and other events. The festival 'For a Happy Childhood and a Peaceful World' will be held at the 'Artek' Young Pioneer camp. The USSR Ministry of Culture and creative workers' unions are to organise meetings of writers, artists, and composers with audiences of young children and teenagers at all theatres, concert halls, and guest houses. Work is underway to produce new plays for young children and adolescents.

The International Year of the Child in the USSR will become a significant event marked with important measures, which will again demonstrate the constant concern of the Party and government for a happy and joyful life of the Soviet children, for peace for all children on earth.

The Children's Right to a Happy Life

A New Times interview, No. 35, 1979

Question. First of all, could you say a few words about the guarantees provided in this country for what might be figuratively described as 'the children's right to a happy life'? The Soviet children are often referred to as the 'only privileged class in the USSR'. How is their privileged status guaranteed and enforced in this country?

Answer. In this country care for the children, and we have about 70 million of them, which is one-fourth of the total population, has been elevated to the rank of national policy. Since the advent of Soviet government there has never been a time when childcare was relaxed or relegated to the background. The nation has invariably done its best to meet all the needs of the children. Evidence of that is the rights recorded in the Constitution of the USSR, such as protection of mothers and children, guaranteed free medical aid, and free education: secondary (general and specialised), higher and vocational.

One has ample reason to say that the lofty principles proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the XIVth UN General Assembly twenty years ago have long been translated into reality in the Soviet Union. State budget appropriations in this field grow year after year. In 1977, for instance, government spending on tuition in schools and on the care of children in orphanages, crèches and kindergartens, Young Pioneer camps and extra-school childcare centres ran to a total of 14,500 million roubles, that is, about 58 per cent of the total budgetary outlays for education. Between 1940 and 1977 outlays for the maintenance of general day schools, boarding schools included, increased 870 per cent.

In the last few years the Party and government have carried out a wide range of measures to improve mother and child health-care. Suffice it to recall such important resolutions as 'On Improving the

System of Maternity Benefits and Allowances to Mothers for the Care of Sick Children', 'On Measures to Expand the Network of Pre-school Childcare Centres on Collective Farms', 'On Expansion of Industrial Production of Baby Foods', 'On Measures for Continued Improvement of Rest and Leisure Facilities for Young Pioneers and Schoolchildren'. Quite recently a resolution was adopted on assistance to children disabled from birth or by disease.

Let us begin with medical care. Progress in this field, of course, is primarily due to social welfare measures. In this country care for the child begins with care for the mother, whose welfare is protected by statutory law. Expectant mothers and mothers of newborn infants are entitled to privileges. They are protected by labour legislation. By planning correctly the routine of work and leisure and the diet of expectant mothers medical workers are doing much for the baby to come along in perfect health.

It is significant that infants under one year of age have become a population group enjoying the advantages of the best ideas implemented in the field of preventive medicine: regular medical checkups and effective precautions against environmental hazards. Regular and free medical check-ups and vaccinations have erected a dependable barrier against children's diseases.

In medical statistics there is an important indicator: the sickness rate per 100,000 persons. In this country the rate of diphtheria in the period 1940-1977 dropped from 91 to 0.1; the rate of whooping-cough, from 232 to 9; the rate of polio, from 0.7 to 0.1; the rate of measles, from 605 to 122. These figures will be still better appreciated if one recalls that children safeguarded against severe infections escape the risk of complications likely to cause irreparable damage to health.

A nationwide system has been set up to combat chronic and relapsing diseases. Soviet medics have been the first to prove that prevention of hypertensive vascular disease and other cardio-vascular disorders should be commenced in childhood. In short, the public health services have now been faced with the task of securing a situation where a disease or predisposition to disease in childhood would be effectively aborted to enable every child to reach adulthood in perfect health.

Question. What you have said fully confirms the idea the Women's International Democratic Federation expressed in one of its statements: "the life of all children could become happier if governments and society as a whole accorded them the kind of care the children enjoy in the socialist countries." It would seem then that we have very little left to do. Nevertheless, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, supporting the relevant UN resolution, resolved in February of this year to set up a government commission to guide activities in the USSR within the framework of the International Year of the Child. What new steps has the Commission taken in the field of child welfare? Could you as its Chairman describe its work?

Answer. The very fact that the Commission has been established is evidence of the great significance the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government attach to mother and child welfare, to the care for the younger generation. The Commission co-ordinates all activities throughout the country in connection with the International Year of the Child. Among the members of the Commission are top-ranking executives of the industrial Ministries responsible for production of goods for children, as well as the Ministries of Public Education, Health, Culture, and Finance. Also taking part in its work are top executives of the State Committees for Publishing and Printing, Cinematography, Television and Radio Broadcasting, Physical Culture and Sports. Soviets of People's Deputies, Party, trade union, and other public organisations are also represented in the Commission. Thus any problem related to child health, education, upbringing, and welfare in general can be jointly examined by competent persons in positions of authority, which makes for prompt implementation of decisions taken.

We do not believe in resting on our laurels. Where child welfare is involved there is always room for improvement. In this sense the International Year of the Child may be regarded not only as a review of the past record but also as an occasion for stepping up activity in this field and spreading useful initiatives more widely throughout the country.

The Commission has a broad plan of action. It provides for examination of measures to improve medical service and physical training of young children and teenagers, planning and verifying the imple-

mentation of measures to increase production and improve the quality of goods for children, as well as to improve retail trade in these goods. We discuss problems involved in continued development of rest and recreational facilities for children and families, verify fulfilment of the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan for extending the network of pre-school childcare centres, schools and pediatric services.

Much of what has been planned has already been implemented. Labour collectives, public organizations, and individuals are actively involved in this work. Incidentally, the Commission is flooded with letters from the public, many of which contain useful suggestions and ideas. They show, as a rule, a sense of high civic awareness and evidence the wise and solicitous attitude of citizens to their country, their concern for its progress and prosperity.

Question. Could you describe in greater detail some aspects of the work of the Commission?

Answer. Here is an example in point. The Commission discussed the question of increasing production and improving the quality of goods for children. Naturally, this referred not only to manufactured goods, but also to materials and dyestuffs, designs and organisation of supplies and trade.

We discussed the problem in its entirety. The Commission brought to light flaws, supported useful initiatives, and instituted control over progress in implementing the measures outlined. The Minister of Light Industry of the USSR and the Vice-Minister of Home Trade of the USSR reported on the situation in the field of production and supply of some lines of children's consumer goods in great request.

The Commission outlined a series of measures to deal with shortcomings and recommended the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, the USSR Ministry of Light Industry and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics to provide for production of children's goods in their plans of economic and social development and to allocate materials, fabrics, accessories and dyestuffs primarily to factories manufacturing goods for children. The USSR Ministry of Home Trade and the USSR State Committee for Construction were

requested to draw up standards designs for construction of shops selling goods for children.

Or take the question of children's summer holidays. It is hard to overestimate the importance of summer health-building schemes in the upbringing of children.

This summer 13 million kids spent their holidays in Young Pioneer, sports and other camps. More than 700,000 youngsters went to this country's best sanatoria and health resorts. Thirteen million made fascinating tours under a nationwide holiday travel programme. Incidentally, the average cost of maintaining one kid in a Young Pioneer camp for 26 days is 100-120 roubles. Under the effective scheme 10 per cent of accommodation is available free of charge, 50 per cent at the price of 9 roubles, and 40 per cent at 18 roubles. These figures alone give an idea of the enormous government spending in this important field.

This is not to say, however, that everything is as it should be. For instance, speakers in the discussion at the Commission called attention to the need for Ministries and other government departments to be more actively involved in building Young Pioneer camps and children's recreation centres. The Ministries responsible for the chemical, coal, timber and paper-and-pulp industries were criticised for their failure to commission last year as many children's recreational centres as had been planned. The actual figure was far below the target.

The Commission recommended the Executive Committees of Soviets of People's Deputies, Ministries and government departments to take full advantage of investment allocations to speed up construction and commissioning of childcare centres and improve the standards of services provided to children.

Provision of the full range of facilities for effective measures to fortify the health of the younger generation is an extremely important problem. This refers not only to summer health-building schemes but also to a complete system of athletic games and pursuits. The Commission approved of the new direction in the physical training of children reported by the Chairman of the USSR Committee for Physical Culture and Sports at one of the hearings. This referred to investing juvenile sports schools with the additional function of devel-

oping mass physical culture. Until recently these schools concentrated on training promising athletes. Now they will admit groups of entrants interested in physical culture and sports regardless of their chances to become star athletes. It will be recalled that the public education system alone incorporates a total of 3597 such schools. With departmental schools added to them the total is about 6000. Under the new scheme three to four million schoolchildren can be drawn into active sports training. An experiment staged in Moscow's Sovetsky district has proved the effectiveness of this new scheme.

Question. The Commission discussed at length what is known as the Kiev experiment. What is your opinion of its value?

Answer. The purpose of the Kiev experiment was to integrate all the basic aspects of upbringing, education, medical service, physical culture and training of young children and teenagers into an interlocked system. First, the city's Party, local government and public organisations had drawn up a comprehensive plan taking into account every aspect and detail of the child's life. The provisions of the plan are interlinked and cover literally everything from birth to graduation from a secondary school. This refers to mother and child care, improvement of pre-school upbringing, enhancement of the efficiency and quality of instruction and education at school, advancement of extra-curricular activities, improvement of physical culture and sports training of children, more efficient operation of the city's distributive network and services catering for children. The scheme covers most of the city's industries and every district.

Under this comprehensive plan schools for young mothers and mother and child-care 'universities' are functioning in the city and special offices have been opened for registration of newborn babies with elaborate ceremony. New pediatric polyclinics have been opened, and eleven sanatoria for sick and emaciated children have changed over to round-the-clock work schedules. During the three past years of the current Five-Year Plan 105 new pre-school childcare centres have been opened—half as many again as in the five years before. In eight out of the city's twelve districts the demand for pre-school childcare centres has been fully met. More than 25,000 youngsters attend music schools, and artists have opened fifty art studios for chil-

dren. Research institutes of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences have provided facilities to establish 'universities' of juvenile mathematicians, physicists, chemists, and cybernetics engineers. There are also studios for young technicians.

The Commission for the International Year of the Child has approved of the Kiev experiment and recommended it for emulation elsewhere. Extensive work is being done in this direction in Moscow and Leningrad as indeed in all large Soviet cities.

Question. Such a comprehensive approach is, of course, highly interesting and important. It is not enough for a child to grow up well-fed and healthy. He must also be happy. He must feel the joy of life, admire and care for the world around him. This, of course, does not come about of itself. The child's attitude to life must be cultivated from birth. Could you comment, if only in brief, on the basic principles of child upbringing in this country? I have in mind some of the more interesting forms and methods of this work deserving support by the Commission.

Answer. The problem of upbringing is far too complex and many-sided to be dealt with in a brief interview. First, as it seems to me, it would be right to define the objective we seek to achieve by educational work and then proceed to the means employed to this end. In this context, I should like to quote the very eloquent words Leonid Brezhnev said addressing an audience of children at the Artek Young Pioneer camp in the Crimea. They are as follows:

"We adults want each of you to be happy, to grow up to be a real human being. What does it take to become one?"

"It means faithful service to the ideals of freedom and justice. You must love your country and your people, respect all those who work and work well for the good of society. You must be intolerant of cruelty, evil, exploitation of man by man, all forms of humiliation of the human being.

"It means taking an active part in all the multiform and complex manifestations of life, approaching the work in hand creatively and with inner conviction, being as useful as possible to other people.

"It means being honest, fair, loyal in friendship. Respecting other people, seeing them as your equals, whatever the language they speak, whatever the colour of their skin.

"It means not only admiring the marvels of the world around us, but also seeing how much more remains to be done to make life better, peace more durable, and people happier. It takes courage to overcome difficulties which no generation can avoid."¹

What are we adults doing to ensure that our children have every possibility of growing up as we would wish them to do? I will confine myself to a few of the most characteristic aspects. First of all, there are the social factors. In this country child labour is prohibited, and universal secondary education free of charge has been made law, with every opportunity being afforded for choice of profession. The state spends an annual average of over 180 roubles for every schoolchild. This is the social basis for the upbringing of the younger generation in this country.

'The children get what is best.' This is a basic precept of our moral code. If we take a look at such a powerful instrument of education as the printed word, here the 'privileged' status of the children is fully in evidence. The increase in printings of children's books is treble that of all other books taken together in this country. Prices of children's books are cheap. This year 500 new editions will be printed.

The long-existing specialised institutions functioning in this field provide optimal conditions for child education. There are children's libraries and clubs, thousands of Young Pioneer Houses, children's theatres and cinema houses. The Soviet Union has over 7000 music, art, and ballet schools and about 6000 juvenile sports schools. In the Young Pioneer Houses children meet writers, scientists, composers, actors and artists. Scientists and prominent members of the artistic profession hold seminars and discussions on vital problems of children's art and technical pursuits.

I shall mention a few of the special events scheduled for this year. In schools and cultural and enlightenment centres nationwide weeks of children's and youth literature and music and exhibitions of children's drawings will be arranged. Soviet art directors are sponsoring a nationwide review of drama and musical theatre productions for young audiences, as well as a national festival of children's and puppet theatres.

¹ *Pravda*, 10th August 1979.

There is also to be an international contest of children's drawings under the motto 'I See the World' and an international meeting of writers and artists working for children.

The Commission is sponsoring discussions, film festivals, and photo exhibitions dedicated to the International Year of the Child at factories and plants, on collective farms, and elsewhere. Children's festivals under the motto 'Let the Sun Shine Forever' have become extremely popular.

We are not forgetting the part TV plays today. Central Television has introduced new programmes: 'A Sunday hour in the family circle', 'An examination paper for adults', 'You grow up with the country', 'Children in the Two Worlds'.

Question. Considering the fact that the Soviet Union has been chosen by decision of many international organisations as the venue for the main event of the International Year of the Child—the World Conference for a Peaceful and Secure Future for All Children—could you comment on the international significance of the Year of the Child? Could you say something about this country's role in the efforts to achieve the main objectives of this important UN initiative?

Answer. The Soviet people greatly appreciate the efforts of the international community to provide favourable conditions for normal life of children, for full development of their abilities, and for securing a better future for them. We regard this year as one of solidarity with the struggle waged by the world's progressive forces for mankind's future.

The purpose of the UN initiative is to draw the attention of governments and nations to one of the most pressing social problems of today—the plight of children.

While displaying constant concern for mothers and children in this country Soviet society is guided by the principles of international solidarity. It is deeply concerned about the future of the world's child population of over 1500 million. Within the framework of broad economic and cultural co-operation with the developing countries the Soviet Union helps them train skilled personnel for their national systems of child education and health-care. Substantial Soviet assistance is given to develop their pre-school, educational, and medical services of children. The Soviet Union is actively involved in pro-

grammes sponsored by the United Nations, UNICEF, WHO and other international organisations. On the initiative of the Commission a delegation went to Kampuchea to present prime necessities, medicines, and gifts to child victims of the atrocities perpetrated by the Pol Pot regime.

This form of international activity is made even more important by the fact that in many countries millions of children are still suffering from hunger, want, and disease. Growing unemployment is also aggravating the children's plight. In some countries exploitation of child labour continues and even tends to intensify. As a result of the long years of colonial and neo-colonialist plunder the death rate of children is high and they are denied the most elementary conditions for education and normal development in most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Bloodshed continues in many parts of the world, and children are dying along with adults. Thereby the most fundamental human right—the right to live at peace—is flagrantly violated. And no one needs peace more than the children. Violence, racism, militarism, and the arms race cripple the young—physically, mentally, and morally. The fight for a happy life of the children is part of the peoples' fight for national independence, peace, and social progress. "Peace means a happy life of the children, a happy life of all people. There is no childhood without peace. And no future. Millions upon millions of people have been robbed of their childhood by wars. It is very important that no one should forget this," Leonid Brezhnev said.¹

The International Year of the Child should reinforce the people's determination to consolidate peace and international security, to put an end to the arms build-up and to create favourable conditions for deepening *détente* and promoting peaceful development so as to ensure well-being and a happy life for all. These vital issues will be discussed at the World Conference for a Peaceful and Secure Future for all Children to be held in Moscow next month.

¹ *Pravda*, 10th August 1979.

The Children Get What is Best

Excerpt from the pamphlet *A Happy Future for the Children*, Moscow, 1979

BEFORE taking up the subject of what has been done and is being done for the younger generation in the Soviet Union to describe our achievements and outstanding problems in this field, I would like to dwell on a more general subject.

Children's problems cannot be wrested out of the historical context. The 'Declaration of the Rights of the Child' adopted by the UN General Assembly twenty years ago, in 1959, says in particular: "Mankind is obliged to give the child the best of what it has."

Can one consider this principle fulfilled, if 250 million children on earth are starving, 300 million cannot go to school, and 54 million have to work from a young age, while military spending exceeds many times over the sum required to provide for all their needs? Can one indeed come out for a happy future of children, at the same time poisoning their minds with racial and nationalist prejudices, a cult of violence and gain? Can one, finally, talk about sincere, solicitous concern for children while triggering off or encouraging military conflicts and undermining *détente*? No, a thousand times no.

In the family circle a child may be raised in the spirit of noble ideas, taught music, foreign languages, poetry and painting, but if outside his home he is confronted by social and racial inequality, a ruthless struggle for existence, a situation where he is denied access to a privileged school, his family upbringing inevitably comes in conflict with the circumstances of real life. This conflict is resolved in different ways.

Some forget the humane principles and adapt to the realities of society, others attempt to reconcile irreconcilables and have to live the dual life of hypocrites, still others join in the struggle for justice, for remaking society.

A starving child should above all be fed, one who is illiterate taught to read and write, and one doing back-breaking toil relieved of the need to work. These are, of course, problems of top priority, and I hope the International Year of the Child will help to resolve them. This, however, is not enough. Indeed, is a happy life available to all children who have enough food, go to school, and do not undermine their health by hard work?

We believe that the struggle for a happy future of children implies a struggle for lasting peace, for social justice, for ending the arms race, the policy of confrontation, racism, and chauvinism. This Soviet stand does not mean at all that we cling to the 'all or nothing' principle. We have always supported and will support any step capable of improving the life of the children even a little without waiting for the solution of other problems. We are simply aware of the fact that to improve the life of the children to a certain extent is not yet to make them happy and confident of their future. This, however, is precisely the objective we are pursuing.

The Declaration of the Rights of the Child proclaims ten principles. Comparing them with the relevant articles in the Soviet Constitution, it is easy to see that this international law instrument of the United Nations has been fully embodied in the fundamental law of the USSR.

For example, Principle IX in the Declaration reads: "The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form. The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age, he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education..." In this country, child labour was forbidden by a government decree on the fifth day after the establishment of Soviet government in 1917. Article 42 of the Constitution of the USSR of 1977 also prohibits employment of child labour in production. Moreover, it underscores the need for special concern for the physical development of the younger generation and proclaims the children's right to health care.

Principle VII of the Declaration proclaims: "The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the

elementary stages..." Article 45 in the Constitution of the USSR proclaims the right of the children to free education of all kinds and at all levels. It has introduced compulsory universal general education of young people. The Constitution provides for broad development of 'vocational, secondary specialised and higher education' available to all young men and women. The Soviet Constitution of 1977 for the first time introduced an additional right to choice of profession, the kind of occupation and a job. All these rights are not simply proclaimed, but they are enforced in real life and have long been enjoyed by Soviet citizens.

Principle VI of the Declaration proclaims: "The child, for the harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall grow up, wherever possible, in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and moral and material security." Article 66 in the Constitution of the USSR obliges Soviet citizens to care for the upbringing of their children, to prepare them for socially useful work, to raise them as worthy members of society. Socialist society and the State, however, cannot be an outsider in this matter. In this country upbringing in the family combines with public education; they complement each other.

The Soviet Union has constitutionally guaranteed concern of the State for the family (Article 53), protection of childhood and motherhood, beginning from developing a broad network of childcare centres of various kinds and functional purpose, maternity homes, women's and children's consultation centres and polyclinics and ending with granting allowances and privileges to mothers and large families. All of the above-listed benefits exist in this developed socialist society not only *de jure* but also *de facto*, so to say. What has been planned within the framework of the International Year of the Child in the world as a long-term programme, as an ideal, has long become a reality in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries.

The concern of this country for the health and well-being of the children is a vivid expression of the social humanism of the Soviet way of life and stems from the very nature of socialist society.

Even before the revolution of 1917 Lenin put forward the following demands as programme objectives of the working class Party: promulgation of 'universal, secular, free and compulsory education' for

all children; provision of poor pupils with food, clothes and textbooks at government expense; prohibition of employment of young children and limitation of working time for teenagers; establishment of crèches for suckling babies and young children in factories and plants. In Imperial Russia where four out of every five children were denied a primary education, where child labour was ruthlessly exploited on a mass scale and there was no concern whatsoever for the physical development of the younger generation on the part of the state these demands could be met only through a revolution.

Documents available evidence the tremendous complexity of the problems the young Soviet Republic had to cope with in the early post-revolutionary years. I shall quote only two figures of a survey carried out in those years. Of every thousand newborn babies 269 died within a year; 43 per cent of young children died before the age of five years.

Efforts to save children from starvation, disease, illiteracy, and social injustice became a matter of government policy. A number of decrees were passed, which safeguarded the interests of all children and abolished whatever distinctions there were in their status. For example, all children—both 'legitimate' and those born out of wedlock—were granted equal rights.

Soviet government instituted paid maternity leave and banned employment of minors. Schools became accessible to all children through the introduction of universal, compulsory, and free primary education. Palaces, mansions, and landed estates which had formerly belonged to the nobility, capitalists, and landlords were handed over to kindergartens, orphanages, and the communal schools, and polyclinics, hospitals, and maternity homes were opened. Medical aid was made free. In January 1919 the founder and leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, Vladimir Lenin, signed a decree which read in part: "In view of the severe conditions of life in the country and the duty of revolutionary government to safeguard the younger generation in the dangerous transition period the Council of People's Commissars hereby decrees the establishment of a special Council for Protection of Children."

What with the Civil War, the foreign intervention, and famine the young Soviet Republic was in a very difficult situation. Enforcement

of the government decree 'On Free Food for Children' became a matter of top priority. Eight million kids under 16 years of age were issued food rations. In Moscow, for example, between June and November 1919 children under 5 years of age received groats and sugar, dairy products, salt, eggs, and bread. All the children were given regular meals at public dining rooms.

Reminiscing of those days, the People's Commissar for Public Health N. A. Semashko wrote that Lenin said at that time: "We adults may starve, but we will give away our last piece of sugar, our last piece of butter to the children. Let these severe events be shouldered by adults but the children must be protected in every way."¹

The Council for Protection of Children set up in the southern and eastern grain-growing provinces special institutions for schoolchildren evacuated from the famine-stricken areas. Between 1918 and 1920 more than 100,000 children were evacuated from Moscow and Petrograd to these provinces. The Council also evacuated children from areas being occupied by counter-revolutionary and interventionist forces.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Soviet government saved the lives of a whole generation. Of course, by today's criteria the material possibilities of the Soviet Republic were extremely limited. *Per capita* national income at that time was not higher than that in the poorest developing countries today. In the last quarter of the twentieth century the young independent nations have to cope with the same problems this country faced six decades ago. The Soviet Union resolved them in incredibly difficult conditions and has gained invaluable experience which has now become common property.

It will be recalled that it was not before 1926 that this country repaired the damage caused by the First World War, the Civil War and the foreign intervention, and the economy advanced to the level of the pre-war year 1913. Some five years later, in the early 'thirties' universal primary education of children was implemented. A problem which had seemed insuperable under tsarism was successfully solved under socialism in a record time. The Romanov dynasty which had

¹ *Pravda*, 12th February 1924.

ruled Russia for 300 years left us an inheritance of widespread illiteracy (three-quarters of the population). Soviet government eradicated mass illiteracy within a few years. This is precisely what accounts for the great value of Soviet experience: it suggests the way of a cardinal solution of the most complicated problems. And not for a privileged few but for all.

I have been told more than once that rich visitors coming to us from capitalist countries, once they had seen Soviet crèches, kindergartens, schools, and Young Pioneer camps, spoke of them with approval in general but made this reservation: "We wouldn't agree to place our own children here." The reason is simple: they compared our mass children's institutions accessible to all with similar institutions for the élite in their own countries. This is like comparing a Soviet holiday home, two weeks' board and lodging, which costs a working man only one-twentieth of his monthly earnings, with luxury villas of Côte d'Azur, California, or Florida, which are more than not only most workers but even many members of the middle class can afford. We interpret the slogan 'The children get what is best' as referring to every child without exception. A system under which some have a private swimming pool, a golf course, home tutors, and direct access to a privileged institution of learning, while others are denied the most elementary benefits does not suit us. We are doing our utmost for the well-being of all children, relying on the real economic basis we have built. This social maximum is steadily being raised along with our economic progress. We began from scratch. Today, naturally, we have problems on a totally different level. Whatever problem we may touch upon, be it pre-school upbringing, general or specialised education, public health or any other, one aspect should be pointed out in the first place: they are being solved on the basis of a uniform state system, identically for all.

Government schools and hospitals exist in most capitalist countries as well. It is significant, however, that well-to-do families ignore them, preferring to send their children to private schools and clinics. In other words, the roads of children from different classes of society sharply diverge from an early age. Our uniform state system, which guarantees the availability of all kinds of education and medical treatment to all free of charge, rules out such injustices.

This, however, is not the only thing that matters. Schools and hospitals need buildings, equipment, skilled personnel, and research facilities. Where no uniform system exists, buildings and teachers' jobs are not always available. The training, let us say, of a doctor takes many years and, while admitting a young man or a girl to a medical college, it is not known how much they will be needed on graduation in the so-called free enterprise society. Our planned system based on public ownership of the means of production enables the right balance to be maintained between demand and supply, between the number of jobs and the number of specialists qualified to take them.

Some three decades ago a shortage of medical specialists was still to be felt in the USSR. The number of pediatricians, for example, was slightly over one-third of what we have today. Children, of course, were not left without medical aid, but doctors had to work hard and a large share of the work had to be shouldered by doctor's assistants and medical nurses. Today even quite healthy children are placed under a doctor's care right after birth. More exactly, even before childbirth expectant mothers are kept under observation by outpatient prophylactic clinics. At least once a month they are examined by a doctor of the nearest maternity consultation centre, of which we have more than 10,000 in this country.

In the most dangerous period—the first 7–10 days after birth—the baby is kept at the maternity home. Later, until the age of 14 years, the child is kept under observation by doctors of the local pediatric polyclinic. This attention is especially meticulous in the first year of life. Not to overlook developmental abnormalities at times unnoticeable to the parents and hard to diagnose, which may later grow into severe ailments, infants under the age of 1 year are examined 13–14 times by pediatricians, neurologists, orthopaedists, eye and ENT specialists. Later examinations are conducted at least once in a quarter-year and after the age of 2 years, once or twice a year.

Naturally, we have to cope with difficulties arising in this field. The USSR occupies one-sixth of the earth's land area, a total of 22,402,000 square kilometres, with quite a few mountainous, taiga and steppe regions and sparsely populated rural localities. To make assistance of pediatricians and 'narrow' specialists available to all

children a system of mobile medical teams has been set up and is being steadily widened. I have in mind prophylactic aid, since a child in need of emergency medical aid is immediately taken to hospital by medical aircraft in particular. Such teams travel in special buses to distant areas to carry out comprehensive examination of children.

Numerous surveys carried out in various areas of the country, in all Union and Autonomous Republics in particular, evidence an improvement in children's physical development everywhere. Malnutrition, severe forms of rickets, and vitamin deficiency have been eradicated. Effective methods of prevention and treatment of rickets have been worked out and put into daily practice. Prophylactic vaccination carried out on a mass scale on scientific recommendations has erected a dependable barrier against children's diseases.

A staged system of treatment, for instance, rheumatological diseases (polyclinic-hospital-sanatorium-polyclinic) enables early identification of the onset of disease, vigorous therapy, perpetuation of its results and the prevention of recurrent attacks. Great experience has been gained in controlling chronic and relapsing diseases.

Soviet pediatricians were the first to prove that prevention of hypertensive vascular disease and other cardiovascular disorders should begin in childhood.

Great progress has been achieved in controlling children's infections. During the last twenty years the rate of diphtheria has been reduced to 1/591th, poliomyelitis to 1/107th, whooping cough to 1/59th, measles almost to 1/4th. The death-rate of these diseases has dropped to a negligible fraction.

Pediatric surgery has also made important progress. Anaesthesiology, reanimatology and urgent therapy have made it possible to apply complex manipulations in examination of a child and to solve the problem of effective assistance to children in acute poisoning, severe trauma and other emergency conditions.

Our success in child-health protection has been largely determined by the advanced level of Soviet medical science and practical application of its achievements.

Research plans for the coming decade provide for the study of such chronic diseases as arterial hypertension, heart, lung, bronchial, liver

and kidney disorders to ensure total recovery from them in childhood.

A long-term programme of research on 'Scientific Principles of Mother and Child Health Protection' for the period 1978-1990 has been drawn up. It opens a qualitatively new stage in the development of Soviet pediatrics and child health care. Much is to be done to work out the most effective forms of activity of clinico-prophylactic pediatric institutions, specialised services, to develop the most advanced methods of prevention, diagnosis and treatment of children's diseases.

The USSR has more pediatricians than any other country. Incidentally, their work load is equal roughly to one-third of that assigned to therapists attending to adults. Nevertheless, it is planned to increase the student body of the pediatrics departments of medical institutes.

One of the main tasks we are coping with now is to secure harmonious development of children rather than only their protection against disease.

Any society seeks to educate children in the spirit of its ideals. The ruling classes of the bourgeois state have sought and are seeking to inculcate in children respect for its foundations, faith in its stability. They really give children from 'good families' a good special education and a wide cultural outlook, teach them to be businesslike, engage in athletic pursuits, etc. A future defender of the interests of the exploiter minority must be fully trained to perform the function predetermined for him.

Soviet society raises its children as hard-working, widely educated, intellectually and physically developed individuals.

But our concepts of a well-bred, harmoniously developed individual are different and have a class character. Our interpretation of a 'harmoniously developed', 'well-bred individual' implies above all love of the socialist Motherland, devotion to communist ideals, humaneness, combination of patriotism with profound respect for other nations, a broad cultural outlook and noble moral qualities, an active position in life, intolerance of any injustice, and participation in socially useful work.

Thus, every society develops a system of upbringing and education

of children in accordance with its ideals. Socialist society has its own system of upbringing of a new, harmoniously developed individual combining dedication to communist ideology, moral integrity and physical perfection.

The advantages of the uniform Soviet government system of upbringing and education are so obvious that few deny them nowadays. However, attempts to attribute to it what it has never had and does not have are being continued. This is done by a simple trick. The fact that the USSR has over 122,000 permanent pre-school childcare centres attended by over 13 million youngsters is used to draw this conclusion: the Soviets deliberately wrest children from their families.

The absurdity of this allegation is clear to anyone even slightly familiar with Soviet reality. Of course, the parents themselves decide where to bring up their child. Accommodation at crèches and kindergartens is voluntary and, incidentally, quite costly to the state. Over 500 roubles per year is spent on the maintenance of one child at a crèche and a little less at a kindergarten. The rest is contributed by the parents (a maximum of 15 roubles per month); families with a relatively low income are exempted from pay. This precisely is real freedom of choice; it is within the means of every parent to accommodate a child at a pre-school childcare centre, but one is not obliged to do this. The availability of this choice is especially important now when the vast majority of Soviet women are unwilling to confine themselves to the narrow family circle but want to work in their fields of interest and take an active part in social life. What is more, as shown by experience, harmonious combination of family and social upbringing yields the best effect.

Every working woman expecting a baby is granted paid maternity leave of 112 calendar days (56 days before and 56 days after childbirth). In accordance with the law she holds down her job until the baby is 1 year old. In the current Five-Year Plan period it is contemplated to introduce a partly-paid leave for mothers for the care of a baby under 1 year of age. Among the social measures to promote mother and child care gradual reduction of the working day for mothers of small children will indisputably be of great importance. This task has been set and recorded in Article 35 of the Constitution of the USSR of 1977.

When the baby has reached the age of 1 year many parents prefer, as a rule, to accommodate it at a pre-school childcare centre. The crèches are the first stage in the Soviet government system of pre-school upbringing of children under the age of 3 years. They are staffed with specially trained personnel: medical workers, instructors, and nurses. The daily routine and the diet of children at these institutions are based on scientific recommendations. Hygienic standards have been worked out for their plots of land, buildings, furniture, and toys, as well as the hygienic elements of physical training of children at preschool institutions.

The earlier the child is accommodated at a crèche, the shorter the period of its adaptation to its new environment and daily routine. At home the air temperature is often above the 18–20°C prescribed by medicine, whereas at a crèche it is invariably maintained at this level. A crèche provides constant medical control whereas at home the parents at times themselves apply their esculapian skills.

At crèches children are subdivided into three groups according to age: the junior group of 2 months to 1 year, the middle group of 1 to 2 years, and the senior group of 2 to 3 years of age. Each of them has its own daily regimen drawn up by pediatricians and physiologists of early childhood. The regimen plan at a crèche depends on the child's age or the season of the year and on the time its mother is busy on her job. A special daily regimen has been compiled for children at round-the-clock crèches where they are kept for all five days of the working week. Such crèches accommodate children of parents whose working day is sometimes discrepant with the regular hours (actors, telephone-exchange operators, workers and office employees of enterprises working in two shifts, etc.).

As regards their physical development crèche children for a number of indices get ahead of children raised at home. In speech development both show the same average rate of progress. There is a programme of intellectual, ethical and sensory (development of the organs of sense) upbringing of children under 3 years of age. It includes methods of instructing them to discriminate between colours, forms and sizes of objects, to make motions in time with music, and many other things that are not always done at home or done spontaneously, sporadically, inconsistently.

Parents today are much worried by problems of intellectual and physical development conforming to the age of instruction of youngsters. A child at a young age can practically be taught anything.

Intensive work is now in progress at the laboratory of mental and ethical upbringing of young children at the Research Institute of Pre-School Education under the USSR Academy of Pedagogy with the object of identifying the mechanism of the influence produced on the child by information, including purely emotional information. Medical authorities allege that information overloads affect those cells of brain tissue which perform the function of memorising, so they complete their growth (that is, lose the ability for division) prematurely. Hence, it is necessary to make a thorough study of the child's brain before stepping up the rate of its mental development. Otherwise there is a risk of harm being caused to the brain by one tempted to rely on its enormous system of dependability, which is really these.

Naturally, scientific methods of upbringing of young children can be applied and controlled only when childcare institutions are staffed with adequate numbers of specially trained personnel. Of great importance, therefore, was the institution at teachers' training colleges of a department for training instructors specially for work in crèche groups, where both pedagogical and medical competence is necessary. Today, more than 82 per cent of instructors at kindergartens and crèches have such specialised education.

At the age of 3 years a youngster is transferred from a crèche to a kindergarten. Here children are also trained under a specially devised scientific system, which is based on the child's age distinctions, requirements, and ability. Just as a crèche a kindergarten usually works at least 12 hours a day. There are also round-the-clock kindergartens where children spend the night and are taken home on Friday night or on Saturday.

Whereas at crèches little tots are trained in elementary hygienic habits, at kindergartens children are taught to look after themselves: to wash themselves, to clean their teeth, to dress, to take care of their clothes and shoes, to handle the knife and fork at table properly, to rinse their mouths after meals. Instructors teach youngsters to speak their native tongue correctly, to recount what they have seen and

heard, to read and count, to solve simple arithmetic problems. Children are raised in the spirit of collectivism, comradeship, mutual assistance, love of nature and animals. Here they get their first notions of art and are given lessons in drawing and sculpture. At music lessons they are taught to sing and to dance.

At a kindergarten youngsters acquire their first habits of work. Children take turns in being on duty at lessons, distribute paper, cardboard, plasticine and pencils between different tables. They also serve time on duty at breakfast, dinner and supper, lay the table and help collect tableware. Youngsters look after order within their own group, wipe furniture, wash toys, sew clothes for dolls, wash and iron them. They feed animals, birds, and fish in the animal pets' room of their kindergarten, clean the cages and the aquarium. Before holidays, of which there are quite a few in a kindergarten, children take part in decorating the rooms of their group and the common hall and make carnival costumes. By International Women's Day of 8th March, they make with their own hands simple presents for their Mammies.

Physical training is paid great attention at a kindergarten. Instructors see to it that their charges grow up adroit, nimble, and vigorous. There are warming-up exercises, water treatments and sponging down every morning. The programme of physical culture lessons includes walking, running, jumping, climbing wall bars and outdoor games.

Games, of course, take up most of the time at a kindergarten. Instructors use games to develop children's attention, memory, hearing and a feeling of rhythm. Every group at any kindergarten has a playground in a garden plot, a play corner or room stocked with various toys.

What matters most, however, is obviously the fact that in a kindergarten a youngster gains experience of relations with other kids, of collectivism, which implies an ability to adapt one's own interests to those of other children. In this period children begin to develop moral principles, convictions, and habits. It is the process of socialisation of the child, of its conversion into a citizen. An acute sense of justice, an eager desire to associate with other children, to be a good comrade, and internationalism—all these qualities are cultivated at a pre-school age.

Special-type kindergartens are intended for accommodation of physically handicapped and retarded youngsters with a history of disease and trauma at birth. These institutions are staffed with specially trained instructors, medical nurses, and qualified doctors. Such children are given not only affectionate care but also effective therapy, special methods being used to stimulate their mental and physical development.

One may hear sometimes that the system of upbringing of a child in a kindergarten is not without its shortcomings. The child allegedly gets tired of the need to spend all day in society, of the lack of privacy and of the inevitable noise.

It suffers from want of individual attention. Such complaints may be partly justified. Nevertheless, a kindergarten can by no means be regarded only as a way out of the predicament where the parents are busy and there is nobody to look after the kid. It is an indisputable fact that kindergarten children are in the main much better prepared for school. And not only because they can read and write a little, as a rule, when they come to school. They are better prepared psychologically: they have been trained to get up early in the morning and to listen to their instructors attentively, they get along with other children and adults more easily, they can concentrate on what they are doing for a longer period of time and they have a better carriage as a result of regular physical exercises.

In addition, the system of social upbringing has the advantage of close links with family upbringing. One is opposed to the other usually only in the heat of a debate. Coming to the kindergarten to pick up their kid, attending parents' meetings, dads and moms, particularly young ones, receive, in effect, competent and friendly pedagogical advice. They learn to organise the daily routine for their kid, assimilate the rules of hygiene, and hear useful hints concerning the right way of handling their child, depending on its character traits. For their part, instructors lend an attentive ear to parents' judgement. Many parents take an active part in the affairs of a childcare centre: they help to decorate it, conduct some lessons, improve its grounds, and grow plants specially for the kindergarten. Close collaboration between the family and the kindergarten is the most effective guarantee of success in a child's upbringing. It is due to this collaboration

that the kid who comes to the first form of a school from a kindergarten is an individual raised in the spirit of collectivism, who is always ready to defend a weaker comrade and understands what is good and what is bad.

At 7 years of age all Soviet children go to school. The country has more than 137,000 general schools, and school buildings for more than a million pupils are built every year. Each of them, as I have mentioned, is now obliged, in accordance with the Constitution, to receive a general education at a ten-year school. This is the educational minimum with which Soviet young people must begin independent life today.

All kinds of education in this country are available free of charge. The state spends more than 180 roubles a year on every school pupil, of whom there are 40 million in the country. By the time the 7-year-old first-form pupil of today is issued a school-leaving certificate of secondary education the state will have spent at least 1800 roubles for his or her tuition. And this in addition to government spending on the child's maintenance in a crèche and a kindergarten of which I have said above, as well as outlays for the upkeep of school-children in full-day groups, at boarding schools, and at Young Pioneer camps, which are organised at the cost of large government investments.

One may wonder: why run to such an expense and force all children to study at least ten years? Indeed, can't a person without a complete general education find a job to his liking?

From a narrow economic point of view, of course, there is no general need for young manpower with such educational standards. There are still jobs which could be very well handled by a person with an eight-year schooling (the compulsory minimum before the adoption of the new Constitution). This, however, is our deliberate policy. First, for the sake of young people themselves so as to widen their opportunities for professional advancement, to develop their abilities and interests in every way, to bring within their reach the permanent values of world and national culture. Second, in developing education we keep in view not only the demands of today; we are looking ahead, taking into consideration the rapid rates of scientific, technological, and social progress, which make high claims on the

level of education of every worker. An educated person finds it easier to learn a speciality, he adapts more quickly to technological progress in production, and is himself a vehicle of this progress. He has a broader world outlook, a wider range of interests, and is better prepared for direct involvement in management of the affairs of his labour collective and society as a whole.

The general school is not the only place for Soviet children to get a secondary education. After eight years of general schooling one may continue his training at a secondary vocational school or a secondary specialised technical school. At these schools, in addition to a general secondary education, students are trained as skilled workers or technicians.

All training at a vocational school is conducted at government expense. All students are provided with clothes, footwear, meals, and textbooks. The training of one student for three to four years costs the state 2200 to 2800 roubles. Students of technical schools are granted monthly maintenance allowances.

I should note that despite some outward similarity our system widely differs from that existing in capitalist countries.

There a child slated for studentship at a university or a privileged private college of higher education will not be placed in any secondary school. The standards of instruction and prestige of different schools are far from identical. Many are denied access to a higher education. No such schools exist in this country. All school-leaving certificates of whatever type of school are absolutely equal in force and enable their holders to continue their education.

The resolution of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government on transition to universal secondary education has yielded good fruit. Whereas in 1950 about 600,000 youths and girls completed their secondary education, in 1978 their number rose to 5.2 million. In 1978, 98 per cent of the children with eight-year schooling continued their studies at secondary schools and other schools of a similar grade. Such rapid rates of development of public education and such broad involvement of the young generations in secondary education are not on record, either in the past or at present, in any capitalist country in the world. Enforcement throughout the country of universal compulsory secondary education is one of the key prerequisites of

continued socio-political and economic advance of Soviet society towards communism, of growth of the socialist awareness and cultural standards of the working people.

No child in this country can be left without protection and without means of subsistence. This is one of the remarkable social achievements of the socialist system and society. In event of severe disease or the death of the parents, or family conflicts which have a negative impact on children, no child's life can or will be ruined in Soviet society. Government aid and the government network of general boarding schools and orphanages play an important part here. Many orphans are adopted and taken into the families of their foster parents. Even in such cases, however, public education agencies inspect the conditions of life and upbringing of foster children in their new families.

Wherever a child may be schooled—in town or country, in the central area or in an outlying province, in Russian or in his native tongue—he is trained everywhere under the same curriculum with the same set of standard textbooks and teaching aids. In this sense a pupil is not in for great surprises and difficulties when, say, his family moves to another place of residence where he goes to a different school and is instructed by different teachers.

The uniform government system of education by no means ignores individual attention to children to identify and develop their personal interests and endowments. On the contrary, in implementing one of the central aims of communist education, one of moulding a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual, the Party and the Soviet State are doing their utmost to create a favourable situation for developing the propensities and abilities of children, cultivating in them habits of and interest in work, technical creativity, sports and art. The USSR has a network of specialised art, music, and ballet schools which admit children of talent in a given field. If a child has a gift, say, for music or drawing it may be placed in a special music school (in the first form) or an art school (in the fifth form), where simultaneously with instruction under a general curriculum identical with that of other schools it will be taught the art it has a bent for and feels drawn to.

A new form of labour education of senior-form pupils has struck

root and is developing successfully. It is conducted in departments of special school factories where boys and girls under the guidance of experienced foreman learn habits of work in a chosen speciality and a chosen field of production. They work there for a few hours once a week. In my opinion, the most important advantage of this form of labour training is the fact that our youngsters making real, useful goods with their own hands such as midget motors for toys, are aware of themselves being real workers, full-fledged participants in social production just as their fathers and mothers. Interschool labour training centres set up in many areas of the country are called upon to play an important part in occupation guidance of young people. They are equipped with modern facilities and staffed with highly qualified lecturers and instructors in practical work. At such centres schoolchildren can familiarise themselves with a fairly wide range of specialities and trades and choose the one to their liking, test their fitness for a job. We have quite a few schools and classes for advanced theoretical and practical study of selected subjects, such as foreign languages, mathematics, physics, and chemistry, as well as sports-oriented schools. Optional courses and study circles in various fields of interest at general and specialised schools, at Young Pioneer and schoolchildren's clubs are very popular. School, district, town, and republican Olympiads, contests, reviews, and exhibitions are regularly held throughout the country. Their winners take part in nationwide contests and reviews in various fields of scientific, technological, and artistic creativity. Such contests brought to the fore at one time many of today's celebrated front-ranking workers, scientists, engineers, persons prominent in the cultural field and star athletes.

Bringing to light talent, however, is by no means the only and perhaps not even the main goal of reviews of this kind. Their purpose is to satisfy the curiosity millions of children show in various subjects, to involve them in socially useful, creative activities and the fascinating process of learning, to teach them to discover and appreciate beauty. We know that not everyone can become a great composer, performer, poet, or artist but any harmoniously developed individual must learn to appreciate music, to derive pleasure from visits to art galleries, exhibitions and museums. It is not necessary to do it all at once, of course, but nobody should remain indifferent to all art. This

objective is pursued by the schools and by all extra-school institutions.

The reader should not think, of course, that we have no unresolved problems in this field or that we are blind to them. The Soviet press regularly prints many discussions and critical articles on problems involved in the upbringing of the younger generation.

Here is one of such problems: our material possibilities to meet the most varied interests of children are growing faster than our ability to take advantage of them. In the USSR real per capita income doubles roughly once in every fifteen years. Most of the parents of present-day schoolchildren grew up in families which could do without TV sets, tape-recorders, and other things which have become prime necessities today. The living conditions of families have radically improved, the equipment and furnishings of schools and clubs have changed, and the number of stadiums, swimming-pools, cinema theatres and other facilities has increased many times over. In the last 25 to 30 years the entire material environment has changed beyond recognition. Children enjoy conditions we could only dream of at one time. This is wonderful, of course, but people of the older generation must teach them to use all these facilities reasonably. Watching TV, for instance, is a simple pursuit, for which one needs no training. It is more difficult to turn this pursuit to advantage rather than substitute it for homework, outdoor games, athletic exercises, and helping one's parents with their daily chores. Of course, children and TV are a problem facing all mankind, which in many countries is far more acute than in ours. In contrast to what they have in the West, Soviet TV does not teach bad things, so to say, does not advertise murder, violence, and sex. There are a great many special programmes for children of different ages. Our problem is not so much what a youngster sees on TV but how much time he spends in front of the screen.

Here is something else. Soviet sociologists have more than once conducted surveys to find out why some teenagers prefer roaming the streets aimlessly to any useful pursuit and sometimes commit acts of hooliganism. The youngsters themselves explained that they were bored, that they would gladly go on a tourist trip, join a ice hockey team or a technical art circle. It turned out that they dreamed of what

was close at hand but their desire to do something useful was of an abstract character and had not grown into an inner urge to spend their time rationally. But who is to blame for the lack of this urge? We adults, of course, their parents and teachers, as well as, evidently, the leaders of those clubs and teams which the youngsters would like to join but were biding their time for some reason. Where matters are handled properly and youngsters find much to interest them applicants are never scarce.

This is in a way a new aspect of the problem. When stadiums, clubs, circles, and sports groups were fewer, and the choice of pastime pursuits not so wide, one could not afford to be very fastidious and demand was clearly larger than supply.

In 1978 the USSR had almost 90,000 children's extra-school entertainment centres: 4700 Young Pioneer and schoolchildren's clubs, 1197 Young Technicians' stations, 730 Young Naturalists' stations, 39 children's railways.

Juvenile athletes have at their disposal 401 stadiums, 57,000 gymnasiums, 510 swimming-pools, 1923 skiing centres, more than 280,000 various sports grounds and game fields, as well as about 6000 juvenile sports schools, 6790 sports and recreation camps. Over 60,000 sports grounds and well-equipped gymnasiums have been built for them. A total of over 167,000 coaches are regularly employed to provide instruction to children.

Every year 150 nationwide athletic contests are held with millions of schoolchildren taking part. Especially popular among these competitions are the 'Hopeful Starts' nationwide children's sports games, schoolchildren's nationwide Spartakiads, as well as the 'Leather Ball' and 'Wheat Ear' contests in football, 'Golden Puck' in ice hockey, 'Merry Dolphin' in swimming, 'Orange Ball' in grass hockey, 'White Castle' in chess, 'Silver Skates' in skating, 'Magic Checkers' in the game of draughts, the 'Merry Starts' and 'Sports Land' games for junior schoolchildren and numerous other events.

Many readers may know about the spectacular successes of Soviet ice-hockey teams. It will be recalled that many players of the Soviet national ice-hockey team began their careers in ice hockey at juvenile sports schools and in 'Golden Puck' contests. During the last three years millions of juvenile athletes have been training under the pro-

gramme of the 'Hopeful Starts' nationwide children's sports games with the finals being held at the 'Artek' national Young Pioneer camp.

In the last few years more attention has been paid to instruction in physical culture and sports to young children and teenagers in their neighbourhoods: about 11,000 sports grounds have been built, more than 1100 physical culture and sports clubs opened and about 9000 children's sports groups set up in residential districts. This is extremely useful work and we must and will develop it.

Twenty-one physical culture institutes, one pedagogical institute of physical training, ninety physical training and physical culture departments at pedagogical institutes and universities and a number of specialised secondary schools train specialist personnel, while scientific research on the problems of physical training and raising star athletes among the younger generation is carried out at the Research Institute of Juvenile Physiology under the USSR Academy of Pedagogy, the Research Institute of Juvenile Hygiene under the USSR Ministry of Health, the Kiev Research Institute of Medical Problems of Physical Culture, three culture and sports research institutes, Chairs at physical culture institutes and Chairs of Physical Training at institutions of higher learning in the humanities and other fields.

If put to the best advantage this enormous potential can satisfy any reasonable requirements of children.

Foreign visitors coming to this country in the early days of summer invariably take note of long trains of motor coaches decorated with red flags. Traffic police cars ahead of them and bringing up the rear secure right of way. The passengers of the motor coaches are children travelling from cities to Young Pioneer camps for rest and leisure in the lap of nature. Behind this impressive spectacle stand equally impressive figures: Every year 13 million youngsters are taken to these camps. More than a million and a half children spend their holidays at health centres and holiday homes, about one million make tourist trips together with their parents. None of these kinds of recreation is a burden on the family budget. A large share of accommodation is available free of charge or at special rates, but even the cost of fully-paid accommodation is less than the normal expense on a child at

home. The point is that in this case the notion 'fully-paid accommodation' is very conventional, since its actual cost is partly offset by a subsidy from social security funds and the state budget.

This benefit is highly characteristic of the Soviet way of life: any family within any income brackets is in a position to provide good recreational facilities for its children.

We are often told: "Nothing is available for free. All your free services, such as housing, education, medical treatment, pensions without preliminary contributions, holiday accommodation, etc., come from what you withhold from full pay. Just pay people better wages, and they will be able to buy whatever they need themselves."

The fact is, however, that some will, while others will not. The difference in incomes would remain and be made worse by social inequality. Today a fairly wide range of social benefits is available to all Soviet citizens. And this range steadily grows wider. We are advised, in fact, to change over to a capitalistic system of distribution under which some may afford any extravagance, while others are denied even basic necessities. We will never agree to that.

The intellectual and moral development of a child is a complex and many-sided process. Not only the family and school but also the entire environment influence the upbringing of children one way or another.

Books, films, plays, and TV programmes effectively influence the formation of the spiritual make-up of youngsters. All these media of influence on the minds and hearts of Soviet children are remarkable for their genuine humanism, patriotism and internationalism, profound meaning and informativeness, high artistic skill and confidence in the young reader or spectator.

Speaking at the Fourth National Congress of Soviet Writers, the poet Sergei Mikhalkov, Hero of Socialist Labour and Lenin and State Prize Winner, said well about this: "I am proud to declare that no Soviet book, film, play, radio or TV programme contains anything that would teach the younger generation the spirit of hatred, cynicism or foul ideas of racial discrimination."

More than sixty Soviet publishing houses bring out books for children. The annual impression of these editions runs to about 500

million copies. Moreover, a total of 314 million copies of textbooks are published for pupils of general schools. Thus, one in every three books published in the USSR is intended for children.

The oldest Soviet publishers, 'Detskaya Literatura' (Children's Literature) founded on Maxim Gorky's initiative in 1933 annually puts out 600 titles in a total printing of 220-230 million copies for children of all ages, from 2 to 17 years. There are publishers producing books for kids in local languages in all Union Republics. Specialised publishers of children's literature have been set up in a few republics: 'Malysh' in the Russian Federation, 'Veselka' in the Ukraine, 'Esh Gvardia' in Uzbekistan, 'Zhalyn' in Kazakhstan, 'Nakaduli' in Georgia, 'Gyandzhlik' in Azerbaijan, etc.

Books for children come out in a variety of genres: novels and novelettes, short stories and poems, verses and plays, fairytales and legends, songs and riddles. There are historical fiction, publicistic, science fiction, popular science, and adventure books intended for all tastes and interests of young readers. National and foreign classics and books by contemporary authors are published in the languages of all the sister nations of the USSR.

Books by such remarkable authors as A. Gaidar, K. Chukovsky, B. Zhitkov, L. Kassil, S. Marshak, M. Prishvin, P. Bazhov, V. Bianki, N. Nosov, A. Barto, S. Mikhalkov, M. Prilezhayeva, A. Aleksin, S. Alekseyev, L. Voronkova, V. Oseyev, N. Dubov and others are invariably popular with kids of all generations.

Works of many authors in the Union Republics are considered to be gems of Soviet multinational children's literature. These are books by C. Aitmatov, Y. Rytkeu, Y. Zbanatsky, N. Zabala, B. Chaly, N. Dumbadze, O. Ioseliani, Nabi Khazri, S. Beishenaliev, K. Tangrykuliev, Y. Mavr, I. Tandyga, V. Petkjavicius, K. Sai, G. Vieru, S. Vangeli, Z. Ergle, E. Niit, E. Raud and A. Bikchentayev.

Books by foreign authors which are published in large editions in this country, have become part of daily reading of children of all ages. Works of William Shakespeare, Charles Perrault, Daniel Defoe, Heinrich Heine, Mark Twain, Jack London, Ethel Voynich, H. G. Wells, J. Rodari, Astrid Lindgren, Lewis Carroll, K. Nestlinger, Donald Bisset, A. Westley and other authors are published for children in printings running into millions of copies.

Since 1977 Detskaya Literatura Publishers have been issuing the 50-volume *Library of World Literature* for children in an impression of 400,000 copies.

It would be relevant to note here that the number of Western authors published in the Soviet Union is much larger than the number of Soviet authors published in the West. Moreover, the range of subjects and authors of translated editions is extremely wide. The principles of selection of works for translation are clear and definite: we print only what contributes to the education of Soviet children in the spirit of the ideals of our society and resolutely reject everything that contradicts these ideals.

In one of her interviews on the aims of Soviet children's literature and the negative aspects of literature for children in the West, Agnia Barto, a Lenin and State Prize-Winner, said eloquently that children's literature must "...educate an individual who could not remain indifferent in the face of violence, cruelty, inhumanity. It must not only foster in one the joy of life, faith in goodness and nobleness but also teach one to struggle for this joy and for all good things on earth.

"...During the last few decades a terrible thing, to my mind, has been happening in the West: businessmen of literature and the arts have inundated the immature minds of children with an avalanche of pseudo art: detective stories, comic strips, TV programmes filled with violence and sex. Children are being crippled morally. Perverted ideas of honour, heroism, and love are implanted in their minds. ...It is not fortuitous that the growing rate of juvenile delinquency in the West is often directly attributed to the so-called 'mass culture' for children.

In this country the book is the best friend of youngsters. This is why the annual week-long children's book reviews have become veritable festivals of the young generation. During these events children meet their favourite prose writers and poets, editors of publishing houses, magazines for children and adolescents at libraries, schools, and community centres. Literary matinees, thematic book festivals and book displays are held everywhere.

About 2500 children's books from all the Union Republics are on display at the recently opened national book exhibition under the

motto 'The Children Get What Is Best' dedicated to the International Year of the Child. The Moscow International Book Fair of 1979 which is to open in September will have a special exposition of books for children.

Soviet children's literature enjoys broad popularity abroad. In 1979 Soviet books for children will be broadly displayed at international book exhibitions and fairs in the fraternal socialist countries, as well as in other countries of the world.

My story about children's literature in the USSR would be far from complete without mentioning the widely ramified network of periodicals for children.

Magazines for children and adolescents have a circulation of millions of copies in this country. Young readers find much useful and fascinating information in the magazines *Merry Pictures* (for pre-school kids), *Murzilka* (for junior schoolchildren), *Young Pioneer* and *Bonfire* (for teenagers), *Barvinok* (the Ukraine), *Vyselka* (Byelorussia), *Gul Khan* (Uzbekistan), *Zhalyn* (Kazakhstan), *Genis* (Lithuania), *Tsitsernak* (Armenia), *Mashyal* (Tajikistan), *Tjaheke* (Estonia) and others, as well as in the popular science periodicals *Young Naturalist*, *Young Technician*, *Technology for Youth*, to mention but a few. A broad network of children's newspapers has been set up in the country. *Pionerskaya Pravda* alone, for instance, has a circulation of over 8 million copies.

Cultural and enlightenment centres of this country play an important role in fostering noble civic qualities in the younger generation, its moral ideals and aesthetic tastes, in developing working habits, in organising active rest and leisure and in cultivating the talents of youngsters.

A total of 136,000 clubs, more than 1300 recreation parks, and about 1400 museums are open to the public in this country. Children's art and technical circles, amateur groups affiliating young children and teenagers interested in the same subject are set up in accordance with their age distinctions at clubs, recreation parks, libraries, and museums with active involvement in this work of members of the creative professions, engineers, technicians, teachers, agricultural specialists, war and labour veterans and front-ranking Komsomol production workers.

Today the community centres in this country alone have about 120,000 children's clubs and amateur groups functioning under their auspices. Clubs of Young Cosmonauts, Young Seamen, Friends of Nature, Young Friends of Borderguards have become popular among children. Little tots have an enjoyable time in their own clubs called 'Why?', 'From Three to Five', 'A Window into the World', 'Pre-School Kid', and 'Cheburashka'. More and more circles of Young Aircraft Model Constructors, Young Designers, Young Students of Local Lore, Friends of Nature are set up and Young Pathfinders' teams formed within the framework of cultural institutions.

This list alone is enough to illustrate the great opportunities this country provides for developing the talents and abilities of every child.

The formation of the harmoniously developed individual in the Soviet Union is one of the tasks of first priority being fulfilled by the state and society in the process of communist construction.

Much attention is paid to the problems of aesthetic education of the younger generation. More than 10 million schoolchildren are involved in amateur art activities. At clubs and community centres there are children's song and dance, drama companies and orchestras, ballet studios, circles of amateur cinematographers and artists.

Young children's and teenagers' studios and satellite circles are established under amateur folk art companies. Leading representatives of Soviet multi-national art are invited to direct children's amateur companies.

Children's art reviews and festivals are held regularly under the auspices of the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Ministry of Public Education, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the YCL Central Committee. Exhibitions of children's drawings and amateur film festivals invariably enjoy great popularity. Children's song and dance festivals are regularly held in the Baltic Republics, in many regions of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Cultural and enlightenment institutions are actively involved in the work of cultivating new Soviet traditions and ceremonies. Children are invited to take part in them.

New, socialist rites and ceremonies serve as a means of passing down from generation to generation established traditions, moral and ethical standards, help assert lofty civic qualities, cultivate feelings of patriotism, and educate the individual morally. Workers in the cultural field initiate and organise festivals of naming a newborn baby, festivals of the first book, festivals of the first-form pupil, hold ceremonies of admission to the ranks of Young Octobrists, Young Pioneers and 'Scarlet Sails' festivals of school-leavers.

Cultural institutions are doing much to provide occupational guidance to schoolchildren, to cultivate their love of work, to educate them by examples from the life and work of Soviet heroes. It is with great fascination that youngsters are taking part in the activities of the 'Patriot', 'Red Carnation', 'Prometheus', 'Motherland' and other amateur clubs, which regularly sponsor meetings with interesting personalities, veterans of the Great Patriotic War and front-ranking production workers.

The personnel of museums also pay great attention to young children and teenagers. Today there are 9000 museums working on the public voluntary service basis in this country. Among them are Lenin museums, revolution museums, history and local lore museums, memorial museums, museums of revolutionary, war and labour heroes and others.

Soviet museums successfully arrange events dedicated to the YCL and the National Young Pioneer Organisation, named after Lenin, organise meetings with interesting personalities, Party, revolutionary, war and labour veterans, ceremonies of admission to the Young Pioneers and the YCL, 'lessons in courage', Lenin exams, oral magazines, lectures on various themes. All activities are differentiated according to children's age. Young children and teenagers study in special clubs and circles of lovers of art, drawing, Young Archaeologists, Historians, Pathfinders, Students of Local Lore.

In 1919 the world's first professional children's theatre opened in Moscow. Its art director was the People's Commissar for Public Education Anatoly Lunacharsky.

Today the Soviet Union has over 160 professional theatres for youngsters. There are many amateur children's theatrical companies which perform for children's audiences.

Such companies exist in a large number of schools, at town and village Young Pioneer clubs.

The childhood, adolescence and youth of Soviet boys and girls are closely linked with a children's theatre: they come here for the first time as youngsters of 6 to 7 years and do not abandon it until they come of age.

In the USSR a children's theatre is accessible to any kid, ticket prices are very cheap—30 to 70 kopecks, which is due to a government subsidy granted to every theatre for youngsters.

Every 'adult' theatre also has plays for children on its repertoire. Every year all theatres hold a special week-long review called 'Theatre and Children', during which youngsters can see plays and meet their favourite actors and dramatists.

Maxim Gorky called literature for children a great power with its own sovereign rights and laws. This metaphor holds equally true of the theatres for youngsters as theatres of special significance appealing to children. Childhood is a wonderful and important period in human life: first impressions which will be remembered forever, first independent conclusions and decisions. . . . This is a time of personality development. And the theatre can and must become an intelligent and trustworthy friend of youngsters. Incidentally, the well-known Soviet playwright Victor Rozov remarked once that kids who often go to a theatre for youngsters cannot grow up to be bad people in adulthood.

Soviet theatres for children resolve two major problems simultaneously: aesthetic and pedagogical. Small wonder, therefore, that even the special job of a theatrical pedagogue exists here. The duties of the theatrical pedagogue are broad and varied: work with spectators (not only children but also their parents and teachers), active participation in the creative work of the company, ranging from selection of a play to its production on the stage. This is why the name of the theatrical pedagogue is listed among the members of the cast in theatrical programmes.

Throughout the history of the Soviet theatre for children there has been a debate among teachers and parents, art directors and playwrights on what kind of play should be produced for children.

It was believed at one time, for instance, that children's audiences need a specific repertoire, say, plays which should by no means bring up for discussion the subject of love and sex, of relations between adults, where all accents are placed in advance so the spectator does not have to rack his brains about what is good and what is bad (no need to meditate on what can be swallowed instantly).

Today there is much talk about the 'maturation' of the theatre for children for the obvious reason of sex acceleration. It is alleged that since children today are as well informed as adults, they may be allowed to see and hear everything they will understand.

Evidently both these stands are too categorical. Early development and enormous information available to modern children still fail to convert a kid into an adult. Today's youngsters watch with fascination a fairy-tale on the stage, sincerely believe in the Big Bad Wolf, and are really afraid for Little Red Riding Hood. Our intellectual teenagers experience torments of first love and hesitate in the choice of a career. What matters most, however, is for children to see true art on the stage.

Incidentally, plays for children staged by a talented art director with skill and good artistic taste might be of interest to adult audiences as well.

I have already touched briefly on problems of television. Now I want to discuss them in greater detail.

As regards TV time for children, the USSR is ahead of any European country: about 100 hours a month. The Soviet children, however, are by no means slaves to TV. This is evidenced, in particular, by the large growth in sales of children's literature and long lines in front of theatres for children. Naturally, young children and teenagers watch not only TV programmes intended specially for them but also some programmes for adults. This does not worry us much in general: even if a Soviet kid begins to watch all adult TV programmes, he will not see in them what his counterpart in the West will: sex, violence, drug addiction, triumphs of muscular supermen over weaklings.

Children and TV is a problem characteristic of all developed countries, and it exists, of course, in the Soviet Union as well. According to information by Soviet sociologists, almost 90 per cent of the schoolchildren polled named watching TV their main leisure pursuit.

To make this pursuit useful but free from didactic pedantry, fascinating but free from lightmindedness is not a simple task, and I would not say that Soviet TV has already coped with it. However, much is being done in this field in collaboration with the Academy of Medical Sciences and the Ministries of Public Education and Higher Education of the USSR.

The Central TV Studios in Moscow transmit programmes for young children and teenagers of 3 to 17 years of age. This variety of age groups naturally dictates a variety of forms and genres of programmes. They are telecast daily on all channels, so any kid may select a programme to his liking.

Little tots are taught to draw, are acquainted with the art of poetry and songs and with the animal and vegetable kingdoms, which is especially important for modern 'urbanised' kids. And, of course, programmes for them are inconceivable without fairy-tales. Every night at 20:15 the programme 'Good Night, Toddlers' is transmitted on two channels of Central Television. This is, so to say, the key programme for Soviet kids: as their parents claim, they would not go to bed before watching it.

The 'Deft Hands' programme teaches older kids in playful, fascinating scenes how to make a wooden home for starlings or a push-cycle, a holiday present to Mom, Dad, Granny and Granddaddy. On Sunday morning schoolchildren are alerted by the ring of the 'Alarm Clock' TV programme. This is half an hour of entertainment filled with jokes and popular tunes, but educational aims are never forgotten: the programme will suggest unobtrusively, with a sense of humour where it is best to spend Sunday usefully, make fun of lazy-bones, interview an interesting person, and come up with a merry and instructive riddle.

According to sociologists, teenagers watch TV for an hour and a half to four hours daily. These figures, of course, are very approximate. Producers of children's programmes seek to stir young viewers into action, to stimulate their interest in useful pursuits and in doing good things. This purpose is pursued, for instance, by the programme of meetings of young correspondents of the 'Eaglet' TV studio with remarkable people. Among them are cosmonauts and workers, airmen and collective farmers, scientists and star athletes. Get-togethers

at the 'Eaglet' TV studio pass in an atmosphere of spontaneity so characteristic of curious teenagers, who ask a variety of questions, some of which would puzzle anybody. Every month boys and girls are challenged to a contest in the 'Merry Starts' and 'Forward, Boys!' programmes, while in the 'The Sun in Every Drawing' programme juvenile artists are given assignments and shown the best works submitted to the TV studio.

Great attention is paid to aesthetic education. Leading artists, musician poets and writers appear in many programmes. The main TV studio holds 'Musical Soirées for Youngsters' under the guidance of the prominent Soviet composer Dmitry Kabalevsky.

All these and a host of similar programmes are compiled at the main studio for telecasts for children and adolescents of their Central Television Studios. Identical studios exist in all republics and their programmes are produced with an eye to local ethnic distinctions. The Baltic peoples are known for their strong penchant for singing, so the 'Songs Help Good Deeds' programme has been enormously popular with young viewers of Latvia for a few years now.

Educational TV has been rapidly gaining ground in recent years. Special educational programmes are compiled on thirteen scientific subjects; in addition there are eighteen permanent rubrics, covering a variety of problems ranging from space exploration to chess puzzles. All this serves to widen the possibilities of school training, making it more interesting visually and emotionally. Television helps learners of English, German, French, and Spanish, widens the outlook of youngsters in the fields of music, imitative art, theatrical art, and cinematography. The 'ABC' programme holds a conspicuous place among monthly educational telecasts. Conceived in principle for youngsters, the 'ABC' programme has largely widened the range of its viewers by attracting adults. This dramatised ABC charms one with its humour and inventive art direction.

The numerous personnel of Soviet TV studios for children are seeking to help bring up a harmoniously developed individual. They are confronted by many problems in this field. Aided by scientists they are looking for scientific methods and authentic reference-points. One criterion, however, remains permanent. This is viewers' letters of comment on programmes. It is a curious fact that at times the

volume of correspondence is so large that the local post office has to detail a special messenger to deliver children's letters to TV studios. For instance, the 'Alarm Clock' programme alone received more than 107,000 letters in one year.

Some kids send telegrams to TV to speed up matters. Here is what they wrote once in a telegram addressed to a favourite announcer: "We wish you good health and never to go on a holiday."

We have discussed books, the theatre and TV. Children, however, also listen to radio broadcasts, records and tape recordings, go to the cinema, concerts, children's parks and school parties. The information explosion characteristic of the present age has also affected the children. It is imperative to make its impact directed and useful to the younger generation. We are making progress in this direction. Proclaiming the slogan 'A Happy Future for the Children', we never forget that human happiness is a very delicate, complex, and individual matter. No society, even the most equitable one, can guarantee complete personal happiness to everybody. Some will consider themselves denied their fair share of talent, others of good luck, still others of requital on the part of their beloved ones. This cannot be helped. Society, however, may help them become happy or stand in their way. Soviet society helps provide favourable conditions for all-round and harmonious development of the individual and educate its members to enable each to find a place in life suited to his or her abilities and leanings. Needless to say the destinies of millions of today's kids will shape differently, and nobody can accurately predict the life path of each. However, it is not difficult to foresee some very essential aspects of their future. It is perfectly clear, for instance, that all kids of today will have to take a job when the right time comes. All able-bodied citizens are obliged to work in Soviet society. And not only because Soviet society does not recognise other sources of income, but also because socially useful work is becoming an inner want of each. Therefore, although child labour is prohibited by the law in the USSR, a socialist attitude to work and initial habits of work are cultivated at an early age. A great deal of labour education is given to children at school. Their happiness in adulthood will largely depend on how effectively this has been done.

A Western correspondent accredited in the USSR once said half in

jest: We work to live, while the Russians live to work. Although he hardly meant to flatter us, his epigram contains a rational kernel. Indeed, from the Soviet point of view there can be no full-blooded life without work. A person who can be a breadwinner but has become a dependant cannot be happy. This is especially true of one handicapped by circumstances. Such circumstances are non-existent in Soviet society: everyone is guaranteed a job in his or her chosen field. The Soviet Union has a widely ramified system of training the younger generation for future work. This is not simply learning specific occupational skills but career guidance provided in good time, inculcation of habits of interpersonal association and team work, cultivation of an ability for innovation in any work, and fostering of a compulsive desire for continuous self-perfection.

I would not say that we have ready-made solutions to all problems arising in this context. Many parents are complaining that their children, who are physically better developed than they were at the same age, and who are immeasurably better informed, are, nevertheless, inferior to the older generation as regards independence, a sense of responsibility, an ability to work with their own hands. Although indiscriminate comparisons of different generations have never been known as accurate, the above-mentioned flaws of character are indeed characteristic of many of today's young children and teenagers. This is also the kind of price we have to pay for the rapid growth of living standards, to which we cannot adapt fast enough to be able to use it rationally. I have already touched on this subject in a different context. Their parents who grew up in the difficult years of the early five-year plans, wartime, or post-war economic recovery could do many things. Elder children had to keep the house and look after their younger brothers and sisters, young teenagers had to clean up and cook their meals out of meagre provisions, to do their homework on their own, and to understand that if they had had a few coins with which to go to the pictures yesterday, the next occasion would be long in coming. The circumstances and need taught them to work. Today the conditions of life are different. Unless due precautions are taken by the parents a child will run the risk of turning into an insatiable selfish consumer unable to cope with the most elementary duties without assistance.

Children: Our Favourites, Our Heirs, Our Hope

Speech at the opening ceremony of the World Conference 'For a Peaceful and Happy Future of All Children', 7th September 1979

ESTEEMED delegates to the World Conference 'For a Peaceful and Happy Future of All Children',

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government I extend my heartiest greetings and wishes of success to this widely representative international forum.

Your conference is one of the biggest and most spectacular events within the framework of the International Year of the Child proclaimed by the United Nations. The Soviet public regards this conference as an important venture capable of contributing to the struggle for a peaceful and happy future of the younger generation.

In the Soviet Union the International Year of the Child has met with warm response and full support on the part of all government and public organisations, and all Soviet citizens.

In a Soviet television address on 1st January 1979 on the occasion of proclaiming 1979 as the International Year of the Child, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, declared:

"This is a very good and wise decision. Indeed, the children are our heirs, who are to continue the cause of their fathers and mothers. I am confident that they will make this world a better and happier

place to live in. It is our duty to do our best for the children of all nations never to learn the tragedy of war and enjoy a safe and joyous childhood."¹

This statement has set the guidelines for the diverse and fruitful efforts being made in the Soviet Union to meet the tasks of the International Year of the Child. They are part of the Soviet people's drive to carry into effect the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and secure a further rise in the people's living and cultural standards, providing thereby favourable conditions for a happy childhood and all-round development of all youngsters.

As we are well aware, this can be achieved only in conditions of lasting peace on earth. Such is the most vital task today. It cannot be accomplished without vigorous efforts to deepen and widen *détente* and reinforce it with relaxation of military tension.

Only by making real progress towards ending the arms race and towards disarmament can effective guarantees of peace be established and people given confidence in their future.

Only in this way can the entire scientific and technological potential, all material resources available to mankind today, be geared to constructive purposes, such as meeting the world community's growing demand for food, raw materials and energy, environmental protection and disease control, space exploration and utilising the resources of the World Ocean.

A few days ago it was forty years since the outbreak of the Second World War. That carnage caused untold suffering to humanity, sparing neither adult nor child, and taught it a stern lesson. This lesson calls for high vigilance against the intrigues of the enemies of *détente* and the militarist forces, for solidarity of all peace forces in vigorous opposition to war.

Today when the world literally bristles with monstrous weapons of wholesale destruction, another war may escalate to an apocalyptic catastrophe. That is why in its foreign policy the Soviet Union attaches top priority to the problem of checking the arms build-up and eventually wiping the nuclear menace off the face of the earth.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 7, p. 577.

It was this priority that the Soviet Government had in mind when concluding the SALT II treaty with the United States.

Practical steps to provide all-out support for this policy have been taken by the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship with Foreign Countries, the Alliance of Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and other public organisations.

Their noble activities are highly appreciated in the Soviet Union. We wish them new successes in their efforts jointly with other international democratic and progressive organisations to help safeguard peace and promote friendship and co-operation among nations.

Concern for children and mothers has been part and parcel of Soviet government policy ever since the world's first socialist society came into being. In the early years of the Revolution, Vladimir Lenin, the great founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, signed a decree proclaiming the formation of the Child Welfare Council and making it incumbent on all government bodies to extend their full protection to the younger generation.

Needless to say, by today's standards the Soviet Republic's material resources were scant at the time. After overcoming its difficulties, however, the Soviet Union has gained invaluable experience in promoting mother and child welfare. All Soviet citizens take lawful pride in this great achievement.

Solicitude for the younger generation has been lent the force of law in the Soviet Constitution, which obliges all Soviet citizens to care for their children, prepare them for socially useful work, and raise them as worthy members of socialist society.

Soviet legislation effectively guarantees children's equality and protects their human dignity. The relevant provisions in the Soviet Constitution are an expression of the humane essence of socialist society. We are proud to know that the principles proclaimed by the United Nations in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child have been fully and effectively translated into reality in the Soviet Union. The principle 'the children get what is best' is thereby being practically implemented.

Free and universal secondary education has been made law in the Soviet Union, where scores of thousands of schools and child-welfare

centres are open throughout the country. The annual state budget appropriations for mother and child welfare and the upbringing of the younger generation run into thousands of millions of roubles.

Tireless concern is being displayed for children's harmonious development to make them fit for socially useful work as full-fledged members of society.

The upbringing and education of the younger generation in the Soviet Union pursue lofty ideals. "We are doing our best," President Brezhnev said, "to raise our children in the spirit of goodness and friendship, to teach them to live as good neighbours with all people of any nationality and any colour of the skin, to respect labour and to work for the benefit of all people."¹

The Commission for the International Year of the Child set up in the Soviet Union by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is stimulating progress on a variety of programmes being implemented in the interest of children, mothers, and families. During the current year alone hundreds of new schools, thousands of kindergartens and crèches have been built, and steady improvement is being made in the medical care of children.

A splendid example of solicitude for the younger generation has been set by the Communist Party, trade union, and Young Communist League organisations of the hero city of Moscow.

The Communist Party, the Soviet Government, and the entire Soviet people are proud of the Soviet Union's younger generation. Soviet youths and girls are upholding and enriching the splendid traditions of their fathers and mothers as a matter of honour and dignity. They are marching with confident step along the path of Communist construction. As President Brezhnev has repeatedly emphasised, the Communist Party regards concern for the younger generation as a matter of first priority.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 7, p. 577.

Allow me to read out his message of greetings to your conference.

The World Conference 'For a Peaceful and Happy
Future of All Children'

Dear friends,

I convey my cordial greetings to the World Conference 'For a Peaceful and Happy Future of All Children'. The motto of your conference illustrates its lofty and humane aims, which are, indeed, common to all mankind.

We see the significance of the United Nations' decision to observe the International Year of the Child primarily in that it attracts the community's attention to the appalling situation where millions of children in many countries are suffering from poverty, starvation and disease. Many children have never gone to school, and their labour is being ruthlessly exploited. The plight of children living in countries under fascist, dictatorial régimes in conditions of racism and apartheid is indescribable.

Mankind's conscience revolts at the suffering of children. Striking evidence of that is the participation in your conference of influential public organisations affiliating trade unionists, women, young people, teachers and parents, lawyers and members of the medical profession, intellectuals prominent in the cultural field and the mass media, as well as of representatives of the United Nations and its specialised agencies. Indeed, a wide range of political forces, organisations, and public figures deem it their duty to contribute actively to securing a better world for the children.

It should be frankly acknowledged, however, that with the present world realities this problem cannot be resolved in isolation from other burning issues of today. Only in conditions of peace is it possible to ensure the full development, harmonious upbringing, and education of the younger generation. The struggle for a happy life of the children implies efforts to strengthen peace, national independence, and the security of nations, and to achieve an arms reduction and disarmament. Since the early days of its history the Soviet State has been vigorously and consistently pressing in this direction and we will never swerve from this path.

In the Soviet Union, a country of genuine equality and democracy, the children are often referred to as the only 'privileged class'. 'The children get what is best' is a rule of life in socialist society. The Soviet Constitution guarantees legal protection, material and moral support for mothers and children, and defines the optimum conditions for the full development of children and adolescents. We are striving to instil in children goodness, a sense of justice, courage, industry, and patriotism. We want them—when they have reached adulthood—to be loyal in friendship, to live as good neighbors with all people on earth, to respect people of any nationality and any colour of the skin.

Children are our favourites, our heirs, our hope. The older generation will hand over to them everything that has been created by the hands and genius of man, so that they can advance further along the path of construction, carrying the torch of peace and social progress.

Every year of our life must be dedicated to children!

I wish the World Conference fruitful results and its delegates great success in their efforts towards a peaceful and happy future of all children!

Leonid Brezhnev¹

¹ *Pravda*, 8th September 1979.

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NIKOLAI TIKHONOV is a prominent Soviet Communist Party leader and statesman, the Premier of the USSR.

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His 40 articles, speeches and reports in this edition portray him as a wise political leader, a skilful economic manager, an expert authority on metallurgy and other key industries, as well as on economic management on a nationwide scale. They represent his political career from 1949 to 1981.

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Premier Tikhonov is well known to the Western business community. On his initiative and with his direct involvement decisions were taken on major projects of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and Western nations.

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